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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 October 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TRAINING AT NCO TECHNICAL SCHOOL DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6, Jun 83 (signed to press 20 Apr 83) pp 30-35

[Article by Maj Ulrich Fink: "So That it Rolls With the Troops"]

[Text] Unprecedented preparation is necessary if everything is to run smoothly with the troops--both figuratively and literally. It is the crucial thing, especially for technical military specialists. They must be intelligent, have politically responsible and be well trained. Swiftmess, energetic maneuvers with firing, forces and combat equipment, sudden shifts of position, frequent combat at dusk, dawn, or at night characterize the current combat operations with troops. This raises the requirements for the maintenance personnel and crews who must provide the tending, care and maintenance for an increasingly complex combat equipment. Most are professional non-commissioned officers. This is reason enough to take a look at one of their modern training facilities, the "Erich Habersaath" military technical school on the island of Ruegen.

Looking at it statistically there used to be three horsepower per soldier of motorized capability. Now our ground forces have more than 50 horsepower per soldier. This makes them more mobile and capable of maneuvers. Consequently--looking back to the past again--they can no longer be directed by the field telephone. But orders and decisions of the command must be transmitted as rapidly as previously; no, even faster. Thus microelectronics and automation were introduced, making possible an uninterrupted information transfer. Stable radio connections can mean the difference between victory and defeat in battle.

Uwe Sarvitzky already knew something about it before he came to MTS, the military technical school, not only from his radio school but also from the Free German Youth applicant collective which he prepared himself for honorary service. Now he is in training as a non-commissioned officer. So what else would he have considered other than the field of communications technology?

It was not easy at the beginning however: "First I had to become accustomed to orders, military discipline and order," he said. Nevertheless, he appears to have adjusted fairly rapidly. Would he otherwise already wear a red stripe

on each shoulder strap next to the yellow ones? This shows he is a squad leader. Even as a student he leads others and has responsibility; the latter refers to the measuring instruments with which the comrades of his group work. His superiors consider it a strong point in him that nothing disturbs him. And they prove it with this example, "He searches until the error is found. He does not throw everything away, and possibly the circuit diagram with it, when the defect is not immediately identifiable."

Thus there is no doubt that Uwe will pass the non-commissioned officer exam. After that he goes into military service. As a radio service technician for lower-power radio stations he will instruct and train soldiers and see to it that the radio contact is always maintained.

As the best of his class, however, he could also remain at the MTS and become a deputy platoon leader for the instruction and training of new recruits. Perhaps even the young neighbors from his home city of Muehlhausen, who have already questioned him often about careers as non-commissioned officers. It could also be that in 2 years, by then possibly a sergeant, he will meet up with one or another from his class. After 2 or 3 years with the troops the non-commissioned officers return to MTS for a 5 month qualifier to become maintenance group leaders, weapons, artillery, or optics experts, radio mechanics or master sergeants. Let us now switch to the field of tank technology.

Sergeant Detlef Faust participates currently in such a non-commissioned officers' curriculum. The 23-year-old sees a good chance to improve his education. He was first a tank commander; later he was tank driver instructor. When he returns to his unit from the MTS he will accept responsibility for the maintenance training. As a communist he tackles his totally demanding task-beginning with the 5 months at the MTS.

Many an hour must he participate in the normal program: the school years are well behind him and that makes math and physics difficult. He found tank training easier because he dealt with this constantly when he was with the troops. So he feels decidedly content in the "Medium Tank Training Center." Here in the former motor vehicle shops, the participants tinker with original equipment and put it into running order. Using cut-away models they can see the insides of the steel colossus and follow exactly what occurs where, when a steering lever is pulled, or how the motor power transfers to the tracks.

The non-commissioned professional must be able to show and explain to subordinates how technical tasks are done, why certain actions are carried out one way and not another, "and one can learn precisely this here in a relatively short time," says the sergeant. He wants to pass the final exam with a minimum grade of 2. With the certificate he is granted at the same time the civilian occupational designation, "Master for Machine and Plant Maintenance."

A man of practical experience is also Sergeant Klaus-Dieter Schulz. This is his third time at MTS. In 1976-77 he was here as a non-commissioned officer candidate in the division of rocket technology and armament. During 1981 in Prora, he became acquainted with the Czechoslovak RM-70 rocket launcher and learned to drive and service it.

And now--1983?

"I tell myself: one cannot know enough. I want to advance. And since my wife is now in a course of instruction I have used the opportunity, which the National People's Army offers, of attending a course for warrant officers in my field."

This is by no means just a visit, and the year is anything but child's play. Practical knowledge and skills are assumed; accordingly the greatest part of the training takes place in training booths and classrooms. On the way to warrant officer one must take sociology, Russian, basic construction, materials technology, hydraulics/pneumatics, special tactics, socialist enterprise management and another 13 subjects. Finally the warrant officers are put into the technical service where it is necessary to recognize and analyze problems quickly, and to come to scientifically based conclusions.

"Whoever is educated at MTS has a foundation with which he can really do well with the troops." That is said by the 35-year-old senior warrant officer Lathar Piessold. He would know, because he was once here 8 years ago in a non-commissioned officer's course. His assignment to the weapons technology area and his interest in this work awoke within him the wish to add to the epaulettes of a warrant officer the corresponding professional status. "At 35 one must buckle down more than at 24; however, the program is constructed logically. In any case, this is no easy program."

Technology is but one side. Warrant officers are two in one: commanders and specialists. They must train, educate and lead young men. The program is not one-sided; it considers all sides and tasks. Therefore there is adequate opportunity to gain practice, as, for example, they conduct discussions of current political interest in other courses.

The weekly lesson plan is as follows: Monday through Saturday there is daily instruction for a minimum of three 90-minute sessions, plus 12 two-hour sessions of organized independent study, and still more; and this lasts for 1 year. The exam at the end is the next step to completing technical school. During the next 2 years of practical training Lathar Piessold will also write his final technical paper--guided by an officer in that field. After a successful defense he becomes a mechanical engineer.

"For anyone who knows the responsibility entrusted to him in our armed forces, and who has an interest in technical matters, I can only recommend the specialist career as warrant officer," summarized Lothar Piessold. "Then he is at the foundation, works independently, deals with people and must master technology. Not easy, but a wonderful task."

* * *

Calling Card

Military Technical School "Erich Habersoth" 2352 Prora, Runegen

Founded in December 1969, it has nine departments: Social Sciences, Rocket Technology and Weaponry, Communications Technology, Tank Technology, Engineering Technology, Motor Vehicle Technology, Chemical Service, Political Science, and Military Music. For instructional purposes there are 160 small rooms, 34 instructional workshops and technical centers, 11 rooms for the fundamentals of natural science and a central work station for large-scale equipment. MTS has a "House of the Army" whose offering ranges from rock performances, song-fests and feature films to slide lectures with stereo sound. There is a photography and drawing group and a facility for gourmet cooking. A variety of sports are available to the candidates through the "Vorwaerts" army sports group with its sections and groups.

12388

CSO: 2300/334

HUNGARY

INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE BUSH ON PLANNED VISIT

LD131844 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 83

[Excerpts] U.S. Vice President George Bush will arrive this evening in Algeria, the second stop of his African and European tour. Prior to this, the U.S. vice president conferred in Rabat with King Hassan II.

Prior to his departure, Vice President Bush was interviewed for Hungarian television by MTI's Washington correspondent, Pal Bokor:

[Begin recording] [Bokor] Mr Vice President, relations between the United States and Hungary may be described as satisfactory. In your opinion what could be the main and most important areas for any improvement of relations?

[Bush, in English, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation] One area could be economic cooperation. By the way, I agree with your description that relations are satisfactory. And I would modify this by saying that they are progressing in the correct direction. There was a time when our countries were not as close as they are now and when relations were not as satisfactory as they are now. But economic cooperation covers a wide area. On the other hand, we can talk on a global basis about other topics. I assume, for example, that Hungarian leaders are interested in the various problems of the world, for example East-West relations; the Middle East issue; the problems of this hemisphere, Europe; the missiles issue; or any other thing. I am prepared to talk about all these things.

[Question] The level of trade between the two countries is not very high; in 1982, in practice, it stagnated. What could the U.S. Government do, or what would it be prepared to do to improve the situation?

[Answer] In my view, an upturn in the economy, which is already underway in the United States, will be the best way of developing trade with Hungary. There are commercial opportunities and we have various programs, and we are prepared to discuss with Hungary certain connections between these. However, the most important point for this is the recovery of our own economy, as well as the continued recovery of the Hungarian economy, which is reliant on the way in which the leaders manage the economy.

[Question] My last question is as follows: What can be achieved, in your view, with such a short visit?

[Answer] Such a visit, however brief it may be, can be useful in every respect. I will be arriving with a completely open agenda for the talks. I am grateful to my hosts because it seems, from their briefing, that the welcome will be very pleasant. I am prepared to discuss any topic that interests the Hungarian people and the Hungarian leadership. I am going to your country with a sense of respect, that is to say, respect for what Hungary has achieved in these extremely difficult times.

[Bokor] Thank you very much, Mr Vice President, and have a good trip to Hungary.

[Bush] I know we will and I am really looking forward to being there. [end recording]

CSO: 2500/28

HUNGARY

PANORAMA INTERVIEWS BRITAIN'S HOWE ON INF PROBLEMS

LD230901 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1935 GMT
22 Sep 83

[From the "Panorama" program; reporter not identified]

[Text] [Reporter] Some days ago when the British Foreign Minister [Sir Geoffrey Howe] visited our country I was given a few minutes to put my questions concerning the British position on Euromissiles. Our conversation, as you will see, was polite but not really cordial:

[Begin Recording] [Reporter in English with Hungarian translation superimposed] Britain has decided to buy its missiles from the United States. Can you state that the British nuclear arsenal is committed to NATO?

[Howe in English with Hungarian translation superimposed] The British deterrent force has always been committed to the NATO. We consider every question of defense together with our allies and this applies to the deterrent force, too.

[Reporter] In case of war, does that apply to the selection of targets, too?

[Howe] I am not prepared to talk about such details.

[Reporter] But that is my problem is exactly, although I have no illusions concerning a change in your position on including British missiles into the NATO forces. I must admit it is difficult for me to understand that you, committed members of NATO, do not allow your missiles to be counted among NATO's European arsenal. [as printed]

[Howe] But it is very important that you should understand our position in this question. At the current talks at Geneva, the so-called medium-range nuclear weapons are discussed, but not the strategic weapons. They are not dealing with the strategic weapons of either the Soviet Union or the United States, of either Great Britain or France. And our weapons are, of course, strategic weapons. But the present talks, as I said, are conducted

on medium-range weapons. The Western alliance is now dealing with the modernization of its medium-range arsenal, because the Soviet Union has deployed many such weapons in recent years. We want to resolutely continue this modernization, the deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles, as a necessary part of modernization. But if in the interest of really balanced proportions there is a possibility of achieving progress in the case of those weapons which are talked about in Geneva--that is, both sides reduce to nil, or in the same proportion--if they choose this solution, we would view such progress with pleasure. But British strategic weapons are not involved in these talks, as the Soviet Union itself has admitted itself on several occasions.

[Reporter] I am sure that if a country is hit by a missile, it would be indifferent about whether the missile was strategic or medium-range.

[Howe] Every country would like to avoid being hit by missiles or using missiles. This is why disarmament is an important topic for talks between East and West. But the order of talks is built on certain principles. As I already mentioned there are no talks in progress on the strategic weapons of the Soviet Union or of the United States; this belongs to the so-called START talks. The recent talks concern medium-range weapons and I would like to see progress in the talks on these weapons rather than that the talks should be confused by an attempt to discuss the strategic weapons of Britain and France on this occasion, when there is no talk about the strategic weapons of Russia or of the United States. This is not a question for argument; rather, attention should be paid to the best practical way which may bring real progress in the direction of balanced disarmament. Because this is in the interest of all of us.

[Reporter] If among the Soviet Union's allies there should be a great power, and if this ally also had nuclear missiles, would not you think that those missiles should be counted as part of the total force of the Soviet Union?

[Howe] This can be argued. But this is a theoretical question which does not arise. Such a hypothesis is good only for diverting attention from those talks which are going on in Geneva on medium-range missiles. This argument does not take us further. We are not talking about trivialities like this. The real situation is that the present talks do not concern, do not influence the strategic arsenal of the Soviet Union or of the United States. So it would not be logical to put the strategic weapons of Great Britain and France on the agenda.

[Reporter] Is it really only a question of agenda?

[Howe] No, it is not only a question of agenda; it is an essential question. And in my view it is very important that nobody's attention should be diverted from the essence by such views that are seriously represented by you here. Please understand, we want to see progress at the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States. We don't believe that it helps if, as you said, the agenda, the topic, the aim of the talks, is confused by involving any kind of strategic weapons of any country.

[Reporter] Do you see any hope for progress in Geneva?

[Howe] I think there are signs showing a possibility for progress. There are proposals offering progress for the talks in the way of counting warheads. This is already progress. The Soviet Union recently handed over a proposal that must be studied very carefully. This indicates that it would liquidate certain weapons. The fact that there are new proposals, that the United States expressed willingness to consider real and balanced initiatives, the fact that every statesman everywhere understands that unlimited escalation of nuclear armament must be prevented--all this means that, with certain goodwill, progress can be achieved.

[Reporter] Why don't you announce that Great Britain will not be first to use nuclear weapons, as has already been announced by the Soviet Union?

[Howe] Because in my view these sorts of announcements are very misleading. Peace between the big countries of the world, the fact that they are not using traditional weapons to threaten or to attack each other, is in my view the result of understanding by the sides that they all have nuclear force as well. And this balance, this force, would be harmed by such pledges as you mention.
[end recording]

CSO: 2500/28

HUNGARY

REASONS FOR, RESULTS OF SMALL BUSINESSES EXAMINED

Budapest BUDAPEST in Hungarian No 6, 1983 pp 13-15

[Article by Laszlo Seregi: "Trade Signs and People"]

[Text] Mrs Vikar has already started to count backwards at the age of 45: "Still 10 years left, still 9 years left, still 8 years left, and then I can retire," she sighed. No one understood why she was so anxious to say good-bye. It was useless to question her or to ask her to say what was bothering her; she remained as silent as a grave. True, what could she have said? She could hardly say the truth. But, then, it is better to be quiet, she thought, and did not say a single word. She opened up only among friends, confessing that she is tired of her colleagues and is fed up with their petty affairs; they would be willing to fight each other for 2 forints; she was tired of not being able to count on any of them for a longer period of time. In looking at the mirror in the mornings, she saw a kind of toothless lion. As a store manager, she had to tolerate almost everything. She could not reprimand any one. She had to be indulgent even with those who deserved to be fired. Slowly, she learned to cope with the unalterable situation although she was unable to accept it. Occasionally she visited her superiors, reporting on the events at the store, but she was stopped at her second sentence. "Dear colleague, you are the manager, do something in your store or turn to the trade union," they taught her. And the next person was called.

I do not have a store, she said angrily, in her anger repeating the unfortunate fact until the statement became a question: actually, why don't I have my own store? A store where I could be alone and where I could blame only myself if things are not going as I imagined?! And, as a stroke of fate, she got hold of a paper from which she learned that it is possible to lease a grocery store from the Municipal Food Trade Enterprise of Obuda.

"I should apply for one," it occurred to her, but she rejected the idea right away; "What do I know about food stuff when I have been selling household articles all my life." Then she recalled that she would not be the first one to do the kind of work she does not know anything about. And then, she is a housekeeper after all. Whether or not she wants to, she goes regularly to the corner grocery store and thus no great surprise is waiting for her.

She was greatly surprised that she had no competitor; she can open tomorrow if she wants to, she was congratulated and was given the keys. The new owner was not counting pennies. She renovated the old store for she knew that appearance is important. People feel more at home in an esthetic environment, and once they are there, they reach deeper into their pockets. This store on Dereglye Street is not large but can hold many things. According to the experts, there is a wide selection of goods. To us it appears that the shelves are loaded with goods. One can find 500-forint liquor as well as 30-filler candy, not to speak of everyday goods. It is not accidental that there is always a crowd at Katherine's. Customers keep coming, so much the more because they do not have to walk anymore to Kolossy Square if they run out of salt. They can get everything here. The elderly especially are happy, not understanding why the store was closed for years.

During a spontaneous survey, the more cynical people said, "See, the big brains have recognized that they cannot do away with the private sector." The politically oriented ones stated, "It has been proven once more that the citizens' individual initiative cannot be pushed to the background for a long time."

Laszlo Urmossy, deputy chief of the main department of commerce of the Capital City Council, does not make it a secret that he is a little bored with this subject. Earlier, when such--and even more extreme--views were the order of the day, everyone seemed to do nothing but explain with arguments that state and cooperative trade is not bankrupt but the new age demands reforms--that is the way it is. Heads were nodding but the eyes were saying, "If things were going right, you would not be using your tongues so much."

In our country even success must be documented. On the other hand, failure is given much more credit! It is useless to ask why this is so. It is certain, though, that the cause for mistrust could be found. It suffices to think about information that is not always thorough and consistent, about news that is not released for a while or about events that seem to be touchy. This is one reason why the news spread like fire 4 years ago that the stores would allegedly be reprivatized. This is, of course, absurd, so much the more because our trade system withstood the trial of time. Even if supply was not always up to par, the customers generally were able to find what they wanted. One reason for this was that the enterprise structure was always adapted to reality and to the tasks of the new situation.

It was this effort, for instance, that resulted earlier in the merger of the Kozert enterprises. Initially 22 operated in the capital city, i.e., 1 per district. As the years went by, more and more people recognized that this was a luxury, there were too many administrators and too few store helpers. The number was soon reduced to 11 and, strangely enough, no one felt any difference. True, there was no improvement either but at least people were not irritated by an overinflated administrative machinery. It follows that the question is justified, why was this reform necessary for us and who were the ones asked for a change in the system. Laszlo Urmossy requests a correction right at the beginning: no one wanted to change the system; the above is supposed to show that the system itself and the basic principles are right.

The new forms were necessary for the operation. The primary objective was to eliminate the business operators.

"The business operator worked in a free cashier system. With a certain exaggeration, the operator used the cashier's money when he pleased. This in itself would not be bad if the person in question were honest. We do not want to accuse anyone but the majority of operators did not prove to be knights of the Holy Grail. They were concerned primarily with their own pockets without much interest in the customers. There was an unfriendly sentiment against the operators, not without foundation. True, their income was out of proportion with their work. And they did not even have to take any risk either! Whatever happened, they were enterprise employees. Why were they able to be flexible with the revenues? The explanation is simple: there were no cash registers in their stores. That is to say, it was not possible to determine their revenues. The data given by the store manager had to be accepted even when his honesty was in question. It was suggested that a cash register should be installed at each buffet, putting an end to the days of the business operators.

"Then, as it often happens, life had its say. It became apparent that we did not have enough money to buy the number of machines that was necessary. They were expensive and large. The stores were small. Budapest's store network, it is good to know, is rather dispersed. We have at present about 10,000 stores, occupying not more than 1,500,000 square meters. Common sense would dictate a centralization resulting in fewer but larger and better equipped stores. But the logic of the customer is different. He is not interested in the problems of the managers. He is not even interested in the trade sign of the store he patronizes. What is important for him is to be able to buy everything without having to walk for 15 minutes to the next store. Under such circumstances it would be a mistake to close even one of the small stores, so much the more because several apartment complexes were built recently and these do not have too many commercial establishments either. In the present plan cycle the store network is going to be increased by 120,000 square meters but--in view of the demand--this will not solve the problems."

Thus the business operator is out. But, then, what else? The answer to this has become well known: operation based on lease and contract. The deputy chief calls our attention: the order is significant, for the Ministry of Domestic Trade brought out a decree 10 years ago which made it possible for its enterprises to lease their smaller stores. This initiative did not catch on. No wonder. Those were still good times, and it was not a problem to fulfill efficiently and completely their revenue quotas. During the second half of the decade, however, there were more and more problems, and more and more stores closed. The number of food store helpers especially diminished. Something had to be done. After all, bread is needed every day as opposed to, say, a leather jacket.

"At this time our enterprises began to look for the ministerial decree and were anxiously waiting for 1 January 1981, when the council resolution on the new forms of operation became effective."

I ask Gyorgy Erdelyi, when they found the decree. The director of the Kozert Enterprise of Obuda did not appreciate the smart inquiry. And, it turned out, he had every reason for the icy reply, for they were the first ones to recognize the end of the road and the necessity for taking a step to avoid problems in the supply of the neighborhood. They did not even have as many problems with the labor shortage as some of their colleagues. But the illnesses and other difficulties cannot be planned ahead. If Mrs Kovacs' son Jackie had a fever during the night, the grocery store on Z Street could not open the next day for there was no one to take her place. It has been 4 years now that 22 of their stores have been closed for longer periods. The enterprise, assessing the situation, took action. They advertised and offered for lease not 22 but 140 stores right away.

Hundreds of people answered the advertisement. Most people came out of curiosity. They were attracted by the magic of the new without thinking for a moment to try this new, this unusual, this uncertain approach. The silent minority, on the other hand, was divided and multiplied, and in the end 60 contracts were signed and sealed. How do they work? According to the Executive Committee of the Capital City Council, very well. They did much for the improvement of the supply's quality and continuity. The only trouble is that there are still too few merchants with the spirit of enterprise, and not only in the food industry. During the last 3 years only 145 leased stores opened in Budapest. This is very little in view of the possibilities.

What is the reason for the restraint? There are those who say, we have become soft and lost our spirit of enterprise. The facts contradict this. There are almost 1000 leased stores, there are innumerable GAMESZ's [expansion unknown], PJT's [Business Corporation], GMK's [Business Work Partnership] and associations. According to Mrs Vikar, people are afraid, for the lessee is considered a retail merchant and he is dealt with accordingly. He gets the current goods only if he pays large tips, for allegedly he has enough left for himself. This is true enough but it also shows that the social prestige of the private sector is--at least in practice--rather mixed. He also pays high taxes. The Internal Revenue Service does not take his bookkeeping into adequate consideration. "He would be crazy to reveal his real income," officials argue, slapping an arbitrary sum to it. "At any rate, there is too much harassment," complains Mrs Vikar. "They are constantly coming in for an audit. They do not understand that it is not in my interest to violate the regulations, especially because I am vulnerable. I do not have an apparatus to represent me. I would rather pay up to a point if they would let me work. At any rate, I will think twice before I will renew my contract when the time comes."

Imre Toth, manager of the grocery store on Bogdan Street, already fears the next licitation. "What will happen if someone will offer more than I? Do not misunderstand, I am not afraid of competition, but I would like the conditions to be equal. Do not forget that I was the one who made a store out of this. I spent a lot of money and I know exactly what its capacity is. I am not crazy, I am not going to follow anyone to the sky. I do not want the store at this price, although I became fond of the independence, freedom and decent

income. In short, I am asking the authorities to consider my interest at the licitation. I should be given preference.

Byorgy Erdelyi shares the view of Imre Toth, adding that it is not in their interest either to chase away the hardworking merchants who have already proven their talents. Of the 60 lessees, 12 have already quit. Some of them were unable to pay the taxes and the overhead, and some neglected their payment responsibilities. There were some who arbitrarily changed the store's profile and began to sell tape recorders and such items instead of groceries.

Their contract was mercilessly terminated.

Zoltan Vadasz, director of the South Buda Catering Enterprise, is ready to acknowledge: had not the radical price increase come about in 1979, they would perhaps still only be planning how it would be when their restaurants will be operated on a lease system. True, it was already decided at that time that the system of the business operator must be discontinued, but it is well known that it is one thing to make a decision and it is quite another to implement it. There are strong historical traditions. Let us remember the noble megyes, which made a great use of their legal right to neglect implementation. We are not trying to say that South Buda Catering is continuing this tradition. On the contrary, they found 72 entrepreneurs for their stores during licitations that rapidly followed one another. There were several applicants for some of their better stores. This caused some heat at the licitation. Millions were flying, and TV watchers could not believe their eyes. Laszlo Urmossy maintains that the press is responsible for the false picture for not saying that the arguing partners were not risking their own money but money which belonged to the state. To be even more precise, they were assessing the expected number of sales. A few of them did this by being only guests before in restaurants and snackbars. The application is a private matter, but the implementation and principle of the licitations is not. It is a matter of decency how much profit the proprietor will accept from a store that was unprofitable before.

It is extremely difficult to draw the line between decency and indecency. According to Zoltan Vadasz, they did everything to avoid subsequent blame. They compiled statistics including all important store data. This was given to all applicants without request. At the licitation they gave a signal when the maximum limit of profit was reached. But one cannot look into heads. There were those who continued to fight because they knew something others did not know. For instance, they made prior agreements with a travel agency or they already signed a contract with a well-known night club singer. And if they still become bankrupt? Well, they were warned, they could blame only themselves. This is perhaps one reason why there were relatively few crises. What is perhaps one reason why there were relatively few crises. What is more important, the quality of catering has improved. The portions are larger, the beer is colder, the soup is hotter and the prices are more in proportion with domestic incomes.

There are, of course, negative experiences as well. In some cases a reputable restaurant deteriorated. There are places where cooperation with the

police is a constant need. But, fortunately, this is not characteristic. Most store managers are working hard, content with decent profits. They know that the customers must be given the kind of service that will make them come back the next day.

Thus the 1,000 leased stores in Budapest are operating well and this can only make us happy. But let us not forget, says Laszlo Urmossy, that the customer is never interested in the trade sign. His interest is centered on what he finds--or does not find--on the shelves. And this does not depend on the form of operation.

9414

CSO: 2500/464

RAKOWSKI COMMENTS ON VARIOUS CRISIS-RELATED ISSUES

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 26-28 Aug 83 pp 1,3

[Interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by Czeslaw Curylo: "Let Us Do What Is Possible"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr Prime Minister, please listen to the following excerpt from a certain speech:

All sides participating in the liquidation of the conflict which has arisen should summon up considerable realism. All sides means those governing as well as those governed! The ministers sitting on government benches must become aware that they are only servants of the people. It is not the people who are /their/ servants! But then there is another point. Even the best government, the best policy, will not endure if society continually, and in public meetings, avows the setting of new demands as a permanent style of existence. I am not proclaiming myself in favor of passing over difficult matters in silence. I am not proposing that we close the chapter of painful accounts of what has been wrong. I wish for one thing only--that all of society would today muster up the maturity without which every endeavor at reform could turn out to be a short-lived dream.

[Question] Do you remember where and when you delivered this speech?

[Answer] I delivered it in the Sejm. It was probably in September 1980.

[Question] To be exact, on 5 September, immediately after the signing of agreements during the session devoted to reforming the Republic. Could you have had powers of clairvoyance?

[Answer] I do not believe that I had a clairvoyant's powers nor have I gotten them since. What I said resulted from a realistic appraisal of the situation at that time, and also from a consciousness of actually existing dangers. On this occasion I would like to recall that during that "hot summer," between August and September 1980, I appeared quite often on television with brief commentaries. In these, on the one hand, I used to emphasize very clearly and unequivocally the justice of the workers' protest and I proclaimed myself in favor of deep changes in the socioeconomic structures; on the other hand, even then I used to point out the dangers, and spoke of the need to appraise

the situation in a realistic manner. I urged the maintenance of moderation and judgment, since I believe that these traits should guide people in all actions, in personal and historical crises equally.

[Question] Three years rich in experience have created a certain distance which probably allows for a formulation of an answer to the following question: Were the August agreements an historic opportunity--as they were then commonly considered--or were they, on the contrary, an historic error?

[Answer] It is right, in a way, that every social phenomenon elicits different evaluations. That is how it was with the agreements. I personally consider that their signature was an historic opportunity. The essence of the agreements, as I would like to emphasize, consists in the fact that they reflect in a good many portions--certainly not in all--the needs, endeavors and dreams of important social groups. They did not materialize out of thin air, therefore, but were the result of a particular development in the socioeconomic situation in the Poland of the 1970's and perhaps of an earlier period as well. I am one of those who regard the agreements, for the reasons specified here, as an historic, important and sound document. Of course, one should not interpret the term "historic" to mean that the document belongs already to the past.

[Question] One thing beyond question is that in August conflict was resolved by means of dialogue. The use of force was avoided; nevertheless, one and a half years later it came to a resolution through force. For this reason the West and the opposition maintain that this proves the bad intentions of the authorities from the very beginning. You, Mr Prime Minister, knew these intentions. What were they in actual fact?

[Answer] I am familiar with this accusation. It is not based on any facts. After all, the forces of order could have been called into action significantly earlier, in much more favorable circumstances, while the structures of Solidarity were still being formed. If the authorities had not trusted the growing movement, then they could have nipped it in the bud as early as September or October 1980 by using relatively light forces. This was very plain at the time.

[Question] Some people believe that, on the contrary, it was too complicated, that the sit-down strike was an expression of protest that the authorities then did not know how to handle.

[Answer] But we are not talking, after all, about the period of the sit-down strike; it was possible to have recourse to force, for example, during the dispute which ensued at the registration of the union, when Solidarity was unwilling to acquiesce to writing into its statute a formula acknowledging the leading role of the PZPR. It was also possible to bring in martial law after the first round of the Solidarity congress, when it had revealed itself without disguise for what it truly was. This was not done then. Why? Because as in the past there existed in the leadership of the party and of the government a conviction that it would succeed in finding a common language of partnership with the activists of the new union. The authorities continually relied on a moment of self-restraint, believing that the various verbal, and not just

verbal, deviations of Solidarity activists would be temporary. From these circumstances came the October 1981 meetings of Jaruzelski, Glemp and Walesa. All along the authorities had the objective possibility of using force but did not follow through. The charge of ill will against the authorities is repeated by the opposition exclusively for political purposes, with the intention of touching the people's spirits.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, even now there is no lack of opinions that indeed the leadership of the party and of the government had good intentions but that nonetheless the representatives of the authorities, those who did not understand the intentions of their own leadership and did not insist upon the realization of the agreements, contributed likewise, along with the opposition and the extremists of Solidarity, to the defeat of the agreements. Would you support such a view?

[Answer] Unquestionably not all the representatives of the authorities were prepared for the turn of events that took place after August, or for a realization of what was in the agreements and what the leaders had said. But these are normal phenomena, resulting even from different personalities, from the various experiences of individual people. The decisive factor, however, is always what political direction the center is setting. And the center, or, synonymously, the leadership of the party and of the government, asked for the realization of the spirit and the letter of the agreements, although they contained demands, too, which were impossible to meet in the specific economic situation.

We have no grievance, in principle, against the millions of Solidarity members, even though I personally have one against some of them, those who clapped, raised shouts and, at every opportunity, adjusted white-red bands. On the other hand, we do feel a definite and well-founded grievance against the leadership of Solidarity. The leadership of our nation--the party, the government--continually emphasized the necessity for implementing the agreements, emphasized its commitment to implement the policies which resulted from these agreements. One could not say the same of the leadership of the union. And this entitles us to criticize the leadership, regardless of the fact that mistaken individuals were to be found here and there on the side of the authorities. A decided majority of the authorities' organization executed with total conviction--well, perhaps not with /total/ conviction; people are, as I have already said, different--the orders of the leadership of the party and of the government. The orders are the main thing, they constitute proof of the authorities' real intentions and place the authorities in a decidedly positive light by contrast with Solidarity. Besides, so do the concrete decisions, not just the orders.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, the August crisis was a crisis of a certain type of administration, in which a lack of democracy played an essential role. Half a year after the agreements, at the Ninth Congress, the judgment spread that democracy is not a gesture by the authorities toward society but a great and growing need of socialism. Generally, opponents of the party and of the authorities make the objection that things work differently, as in the past, with democracy. They maintain that actually a small group of persons now makes decisions about particulars. What is your opinion on this important question?

[Answer] In order to respond to this question, one must first be satisfied as to what is included in the notion of "democracy." In Poland, very often in the past, anarchy, a desire for unlimited freedom, a lack of feelings of responsibility for the life of society, for the whole nation, lurked behind this term. The dispute over what is democracy and what is not has an immortal tradition among us. Most often the people have been concerned with the right to question the existence of the authorities. This is not consistent with our socialist understanding of democracy. Here I would like to drop this thread for a moment in order to return to the matter of the historic opportunity resulting from the agreements. In my deepest conviction, this opportunity exists as before. But now it is a matter of the existence, or the lack, of democracy in the system of the present authorities. The government undertakes all important decisions on the strength of consultation. The essence of misunderstandings rests in the fact that a great many people confuse consultation with negotiations. When a government official consults on a certain matter, he gathers opinions in various circles. This does not mean that he has to be bound by them; he can take into account only certain of these opinions, or even decide on a completely new, independent solution.

[Question] You raise this question very frequently in your public appearances.

[Answer] Yes. The point of consultations, after all, is to ascertain what the people think about a given matter, or, too, how they will receive a concrete solution; yet the welfare of the country must always determine what decision is made. We cannot boast that we already have appropriate people in all posts. But overall, if it is a question of the style of the regime of General Jaruzelski, then that is an entirely different matter from the methods operative through 1980, and only malicious people can contest this. His regime consists of the above-mentioned consultations, of a gathering of opinions from experts, of continual verifications, of the examination of public opinion by specialized centers--every matter is aired openly. A continual confrontation takes place between our ideas about the situation in the country and the people's opinions. Let our lasting, direct contacts with laborers, with workers, also serve as an example. And this is democracy.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, you are spoken of as the co-architect of "General Jaruzelski's line." What are the fundamental elements of this program? There have even arisen observations that it pushes into the background, as it were, the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the party.

[Answer] If it is a question of my role, I am no more an architect of the general's line than the rest of my comrades in the Central Committee and in the Politburo. I have my own spheres of work. I direct the Committee for Trade Union Affairs, the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers and the Committee for Youth Affairs. These define the scope of my functions and my position in the government but I would be far from ascribing any particular role to myself. And another point: What I do goes toward the realization of the program of the Ninth Congress. Evaluations which talk of the exclusion of certain programs I regard as unfounded.

[Question] You stand at the head of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers. Some malicious people perceive in this institution a competitive

appropriation of others' competencies. It is a fact that an institution of this type constitutes an innovation in the socialist camp. What do you think about this?

[Answer] I consider that the Sociopolitical Committee is not competitive with any other institution, but it has proved itself as one of the means of wielding authority. It truly is an innovation. Its existence arouses political consciousness, if one can so express it, in the work of the government. It prevents our proceedings from being, as one could suppose, purely administrative. Furthermore, I must also say that social policies are acquiring more and more significance the world over and call for institutional protection. This institution has been positively tested in practice. It is obvious that the committee does not constitute any independent unit. It is a part of the Council of Ministers.

[Question] Since the agreements, the party has traveled a long and difficult route. You are an active member of the party. What, in your opinion, should the party's role be now, when, according to General W. Jaruzelski, "the Army has passed to second place"? Can the party enter the forefront?

[Answer] As the leading ideological and political force it must enter the forefront as well as second place. This is a process requiring time and a gathering of experiences. In the party the positive process of regaining belief in oneself, in one's powers, is taking place. The party does not operate in a vacuum. It is being reborn under the heavy pressure of antisocialist forces both internally, within the country, and externally, something which causes a prolongation of the process whose curve, nevertheless, always remains an ascending one.

[Question] Here one is tempted to evoke the colorful analogy which Minister Urban used in one of his publications. He wrote that martial law was introduced only when there was no other medicine in the pharmacy for our crisis except the Army. Could one say that now the party is in the pharmacy?

[Answer] Yes, certainly. At the same time, in an appraisal of the party's position I would reject Warsaw coffee-house appraisals as having no accord with actual conditions, because, among other reasons, I travel a lot around the country and meet various activists. Many of them are very deeply involved in their circles, they have authority. Through such people the party becomes the authority in these circles. These are not rare situations. In sum, they give the party a pretty good position, a far better one than can be observed from the capital.

[Question] A unique Polish model of socialist democracy is assiduously being constructed. What place, in your opinion, should the party have in this model in order for it to appear equally attractive to the nonparty majority of Poles?

[Answer] The role of the party depends not only on the attractiveness of its ideology and the political goals it sets itself but also on the quality of its members, on what they represent in their circles. That is one side of the coin, and the other side must be the direct participation of nonparty members in government, at various levels, of course. The participation of nonparty

persons in the administration of authority is an important factor in elevating the role of the party.

[Question] Well, it is precisely this which demands changes in the social structures and responses to the question, "What will Poland be like after the crisis?"

[Answer] For now we have a situation in which one part of society gives active support to the party's policies, another part behaves neutrally, and yet another is opposed to socialism. In the future, Polish society will remain a class society as in the past. From this fact all decisions about the model derive and will continue to derive.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, a slow normalization is becoming fact, but after all this is still too little. How will the situation develop in the very near future? Lately a rumor has been circulating concerning a change for the worse in relations between the government and the Church.

[Answer] This is a rumor promoted by the West and generated in Western anti-communist centers. It is a question of maintaining the impression that there are always tensions in Poland. And what of the rate of normalization? The country has undergone a big trauma. It now needs peace and order. We are trying to follow policies which will hasten this condition. But we cannot fix even the year, much less the month, when full normalization shall be attained. An individual's frame of mind depends on how well he is provided with the necessities of life, and our possibilities in this respect will not be too strong in the very near future.

[Question] Does this mean that it might be the case that we will not only move ahead but that in certain periods we will also regress?

[Answer] It could be like that too. Everything will depend on the results of economic reform, on the possibilities created for human initiative and above all on the people themselves.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, this sounds rather pessimistic. We are struggling for a return to a condition already attained. Others the world over are facing a new technological revolution. Does the government feel equal to governing effectively enough to secure for the people that position in the world which they deserve?

[Answer] Already, as a party, we have secured a respectable position in the world for the people, regardless of the mistakes made by the party and the government. After the Second World War, Poland became a totally different country from what it had been. The crisis of the 1970's, and then activists in Solidarity in 1980 and later, made this position worse. All the same, our inclusion among the Third World nations should injure our pride. But we do not belong to this world. We have a decidedly higher number of specialists, a higher achievement in culture, in industry, and so on. But unless a conviction awakens in everyone that there will be no progress without increasing the efficiency of work, without taking our affairs to heart, then we will lag behind.

[Question] Some people, especially in the countryside, are counting on the Fund for the Development of Agriculture, the creation of which the Church was supposed to sponsor. All at once there appeared in the Western press speculations that talks on this matter had been broken off.

[Answer] That is not how it is, this is merely a step toward solving this problem. I will say one thing: I have not yet seen these billions.

[Question] Then there remain people, distrustful in still large percentages, who believe that first the personnel situation in institutions needs to be put in order, so that the people's effort will not be wasted anew.

[Answer] I believe that in industry the majority of positions are occupied by specialists. Furthermore, bad directors are encountered, but it is not up to the leadership of the government to dismiss them; it is up to those who gave them these places. Remote control will not allow us to implement proper personnel policies which must be taken up by social organizations and by the people involved in the given circles. In the last three years in industry and administration, a personnel revolution has come about. One can truly ask, who took the place of the discharged, was it always better people? Things varied. That is how life is. One cannot, at that, bring about changes by force, one must give the people a feeling of stability. Without it they will not muster up a solid effort.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, following your publications and declarations, one could declare that you are concerned about fidelity to economic reality, but some people charge you with being a partisan of technocratic-bureaucratic ideology. Where do these misunderstandings arise?

[Answer] In the 1970's, we supported the concept of efficient management in POLITYKA. Some people charged us with propagating managership in a Western way. At the time it was a question for us of supporting efficient organizers of production. I consider that they are needed today as well. But those publications became the source of previous and current suspicions--unjust ones. Perhaps in what I say now I will supply additional reasons for accusations against myself, but that is not most important. I have no doubts that currently one of the most important tasks in Poland is the creation of an army of efficient people, of splendid organizers, who can discriminate between what is genuine economy and what is bluff. We must have cheaper production, and what does that mean? That there will be a capable director who will be able to organize work, to mobilize people for their maximal effort. These matters will settle our future, these and no others.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, we have talked about economy about politics, but after all you have culture in particular very much at heart. Here the situation is very complicated.

[Answer] Yes, in a part of the intellectual world extreme attitudes often represented by people who do not have much to say in the sphere of art have been voiced. Considering the situation, they have recognized that, not having a chance to enter history through their works, they can attain this through

political activity. I cannot understand how a certain group of people, instead of saying to themselves, "This is possible, this is not; let us do what is possible, there are chances to shape new sociopolitical relations"--do nothing but merely delight in turning their backs on the authorities. All the same, I am not anxious about the development of an intellectual void. I am not dramatizing the situation. I am a partisan of patience. I will wait.

[Question] Things could be most difficult with writers. It is easy to convey a book abroad. After all, there is talk of directing literature toward emigration.

[Answer] I am not afraid of that. Who is important for a writer? The reader, without whom the writer does not exist. The reader is not directed toward emigration. And so the matter is of minor importance. It seems that in Poland even writers are inimically disposed toward us. Recently a book by Kusmierk appeared; I can mention other titles too, for instance, the books of Szczypiorski. Our publication policy is liberal, perhaps even overly so, but nobody takes this into consideration. It has continually been difficult to find sense after August and after July, after the experiences of martial law.

[Question] With this statement we have come to the last question, for which we must return again to the subject of Gdansk. As we talk, the terms of the ultimatum given to the government by the underground TTK [Provisional Coordinating Commission] pertaining to the proposition for new negotiations is passing. How do you appraise this proposition on the day before departing for a meeting not with the TTK but with the shipyard workers in Gdansk?

[Answer] Ultimatum?! Let us not exaggerate. These are the works of people who have taken up hopeless stands. A demand for negotiation from the working class?! And what right do the authors of this appeal have to speak in the name of the working class? I see no need for conducting a negotiation--and least of all with self-styled committees and played-out politicizers. On the other hand, I do feel a need for a lasting dialogue with the working class, and it is precisely this that we act for, always, without pause.

[Interviewer] I thank you, Mr Prime Minister, for granting this interview.

12460
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RAKOWSKI SHIPYARD SPEECH VIEWED AS END OF SOLIDARITY 'CHAPTER'

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 37, 10 Sep 83 p 16

[Article by KTT: "Fetishes"]

[Text] Without doubt the meeting of Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski with the Lenin Shipyard workers in Gdansk is the most discussed political event of the past few weeks. It has aroused genuine passion; it has become a gage of people's attitudes, surrounded by an outright stratum of rumors. To me personally, the most amusing of these rumors is the one about a group of shouters who, in trying to disrupt the Vice Premier's appearance, were engaged by him to show "how brave Rakowski is." If one considers that these very shouts and uproars became the premise for bold headlines in the U.S. press that "Rakowski was whistled down at the shipyard," then one is struck here by the lack of timing between the domestic and foreign smugness, the first such discrepancy in many months because ordinarily both these opinions, thanks to an efficient radio system, are quite consistent with one another. Incidentally anyway, concerning these shouts, in showing the meeting, television did the Vice Premier an ill turn by hushing up and softening these shouts. Eye witnesses to the event state that the tumult was quite substantial, which better explains some of the Vice Premier's reactions and remarks than the mutterings at the back of the hall, in conjunction with which Mieczyslaw Rakowski could have appeared at times to be somewhat excited, which also is, of course, the subject of the most varied opinions and commentaries.

One can amuse oneself with such trifles for hours; in addition many people spent many August evenings listening to them on the radio and watching it all on TV, which is not a complete waste of time. After all if one looks at the affair somewhat more seriously, three interesting questions come to mind--its sense, its style and its implied meaning.

I believe that the sense of the Gdansk meeting--which of course is quite unconventional in our political ways where confrontations of a representative of the highest authority with an audience that is agitated and not too friendly are rather rare--is difficult to understand if one does not view it in a somewhat greater context. It is hard to believe that the affair here was strictly about the fascinating spectacle or about satisfying needs for open polemics based on the Vice Premier's background as a journalist.

However, the rationale of this meeting becomes clearer if one looks at it in the context of two other facts: first, the certain new accents in the government's policy and propaganda, and second--in the juxtaposition of the meeting that took place a day or two later between Premier Jaruzelski and the representatives of the new trade union at the Bailon Steel Works.

In discussing the new accents, I am thinking about above all the argument occurring lately more and more frequently that the government, in not satisfying hopes and expectations, knowingly makes it known that it cares and will continue to care about the opinions and needs of the working class. Such turnabouts and declarations can be perused in official pronouncements as well from government publicists (for example, in J. Urban's well-known reply to Jerzy Turowicz's article in TYGONNIK POWSZECHNY), and I believe they should not be considered to be simply declarations, for example, as platitudes to minimize the dissatisfaction in some intelligentsia circles or as arguments justifying severe and restrictive tax laws. I presume that it is a decision undertaken seriously.

Of course it can be said that in a state governed by a worker party the priorities of proletariat interests is something that is obvious. In fact it is so. Nonetheless, previously, for example, during Gomulka's rule, it was said not irrationally that the first secretary was mainly concerned with the peasants' problems (which, unfortunately, he did not know how to resolve effectively to the very end); but the Gierek period appeared to be dominated by a technocratic and managerial class (which also was of no consequence, otherwise the crisis would not have occurred). Declaring oneself to be in agreement with workers' opinions is a practical decision, an important accent. For it also to be realized, it is necessary to win over the working class, whose voice in social and vital affairs is in fact quite uniform, but it is strongly divided on the question of politics.

Thus, both the vice premier and premier came out within 1 week in support of the workers, each also had a different mission. It appears that Vice Premier Rakowski's mission was to close a certain chapter in history, a chapter associated with the existence of Solidarity, and the premier's mission was to open a new chapter by validating the new trade unions.

Vice Premier Rakowski could have carried out his meeting in Gdansk entirely differently. He simply could have gone to the shipyard workers, presented to them the main problems facing Poland today--mainly economic and international--tell them how the government intends to deal with them, and ask if the underground commission, Lech Walesa or any other person in the hall had any kind of realistic alternative. Naturally then, his polemical success would have been more evident from the viewpoint of better communications and for the simple reason that Solidarity also was weak during its prime period in constructive plans and model drafts. I was fortunate that two times I heard the key negotiations between the government and Solidarity's leadership that took place in the hall--those broken off in August 1981 and those in October that were completely hopeless--and I saw them with my own eyes. Thus, if Rakowski did not pursue this path, then the reason appears obvious:

that the government does not want to hold talks with Solidarity in any form whatever; talks can be held only on a Baildon Steelworks basis. It is obvious that the primary political contest will now take place around this formula and how successful it will be in closing an old era and opening a new one remains to be seen.

The formula, I feel, looks promising. Of course the question arises: How does all this relate to the slogan "talk like one Pole to another" and to the idea of understanding? Thus, I believe the significance of the Gdansk meeting as seen in the political context is that it places certain new accents on the above slogan and idea which, after all, correctly sensed the unwritten public opinion and perhaps from this set it in motion. Speaking frankly, for marxists the slogan "talk like one Pole to another," a slogan with Solidarity overtones, implies that nationalistic links are stronger than all others and is a dubious slogan. The essence of classical internationalism as seen by Marx, for example, is based on the fact that a French and German worker have more in common with one another than that same French or German worker has with the French or German bourgeoisie. But in Poland, as a result of our historical experiences, from which arises uncontroversially that however divided we may be by class, world outlook, religion and whatever else one wishes, we all are in the same boat and if that boat sinks then we all drown together, and thus the idea of "talking like one Pole to another" has a specific value and should not be dismissed lightly. But--and this is what Rakowski most certainly wanted to accentuate--a talk "as with one Pole to another" does not have to be an amiable talk. The style of the meeting at the shipyard shows that one Pole does not have to speak agreeable with another Pole, but the talk must be frank. An intelligent Pole should speak one way with another intelligent Pole and another way with a stupid Pole, and the very fact of such a dialogue should not engender the thoughtless slogan "let us love one another!" or also call for rabid polemics. I admit that I like this much more than the obligatory hearty kiss on both cheeks along with, of course, the assumption that polemicists have the right to set forth their arguments just as Lech Walesa did in Gdansk; this also was in accordance with my own ideas.

But this also gives rise to a certain implied meaning worthy of reflection. It would not be good to substitute one rejected fetish, that is "like one Pole to another" with a new fetish, namely the "working class." There is no need to dispute the fact that the working class is the real drive behind modern events. Three times in our recent past, in 1956, 1970 and 1980, it was the working class that changed the course of history through its mass movements while all the other movements, although more dramatic, were of minor importance. But there also are other facts, very prosaic facts, for example the one I heard lately on TV, namely that 40 percent of the windowpanes--almost one-half--installed in new housing projects have to be replaced before the new tenants can move in because they were broken by the construction workers who were either sober or drunk, who were supervised or unsupervised by master craftsmen or engineers. Do they belong to the working class? But of course! Is this windowpanes example but one of thousands of identical meaning? How could that be? No farmer wastes 40 percent of his crop, and no intellectual tramples upon 40 percent of his output.

If we are proposing--and rightly so--a new style of "talking like one Pole to another," talks that are more frank and open but differ with regard to positions and values and that are rational throughout, then it should be a style that also is obligatory for all of society, including the working class. This may sound brutal but in order for it to play the card dealt to it by history, the working class must get their own house in order but not according to political classifications but rather classifications of morality and work. The sober worker must speak out against the drunk worker, the honest worker against the thief, the industrious worker against the lazy one, the thrifty worker against the scoundrel. If not, relying on this class alone will in itself make no sense.

11899

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PROVINCIAL PARTY TASK DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Party Task - Increase Production, Quality

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 12-13-14 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] In the last 7-month period Krakow enterprises have reached a production level close to the national average. Production growth and increase in labor efficiency are visible. Trade has improved as well as is witnessed by visible improvement in the availability of food supplies. However, positive tendencies of Krakow industry are being hampered by negative phenomena. The improvement of labor productivity still remains behind the wage increases and product quality is often very low. The number of administration employees has not been reduced significantly and there are enterprises in which the number of such employees is actually increasing. In many enterprises supplies of materials increase, while anti-inflation and saving plans receive only cursory attention.

Such opinions about the situation in the Krakow industry were expressed yesterday at the meeting of the Executive Board of the Krakow PZPR Committee which was chaired by Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary. At the conclusion of the meeting all units of the Krakow party organization were obligated to wage a decisive battle with the manifestations of all negative phenomena and to bring about complete execution of this year's plan of fulfilling social needs. The party echelons were entrusted with the responsibility to conduct a thorough evaluation of teams and individuals responsible for the execution of those tasks.

The Krakow party organization will render a decisive support to enterprise and management teams, which are capable to think on the level of the entire society, to undertake wise initiatives, and to take bold actions instead of hiding behind objective difficulties. The economy, and consequently the standard of living of the working people, becomes the main political task of the party, authorities, and all units of sociopolitical life. The Krakow Committee Executive Board yesterday approved the system of tasks for the party organizations in the areas of production growth and management efficiency improvements in response to the workers' opinions, which had been particularly critical of seeming effects, poor management, poor tempo of implementation of the economic reform, and of earning unjustified profits.

The same meeting also evaluated the situation in the Krakow agriculture, characterized by good advances in field work, and good level of production and procurement. Additionally, the Executive Board acquainted itself with information on filling top management positions in schools above the elementary level.

Party Work in Education

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Prof Henryk Komzal, secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Lublin, by Leslaw Gnot; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The beginning of the new school year approaches. It is worthwhile, then--before the first school bell rings--to talk a little bit about the most important problems in education. However, since it is our first talk, I would like to begin with a personal question. You are on the faculty of the Agricultural Academy. Already at the precongress voivodship party conference you were elected to the party leadership and you were approached about a position in the party apparatus. However, for a while you resisted it and focused on your work at the school's Party Committee. A few months ago you decided to take the offered position of a KW PZPR secretary for scientific and educational affairs in Lublin. What made you to change your mind?

[Answer] I would prefer not to talk about myself, but as you said it was only in part a personal problem. My decision had also to do with a general evaluation of the situation and therefore it merits a short comment. My professional and civic activities somewhat paralleled each other and I have always believed that they should not contradict each other. I began my civic work at school as a student. In 1961 I became an Instructor. At the same time I became active in the party organization: first as a group leader, then as an Executive Board member for two terms, and finally as the secretary. In 1981 party organizations in the higher schools of learning lived through a very difficult and bad period. We were attacked from various directions. Those weaker and less immune left our ranks, others were overcome by passivity and impotence. Being obligated by support in that difficult period I believed that my place was in school and that it was there where the battle line was drawn. This may sound a little pathetic, but the times somewhat justified such a way of thinking, I think. Along with other comrades we have managed not only to survive the worst period, but to launch an offensive in numerous areas, and to achieve stability and strengthen the role of the party. In the new situation I decided that my experience, gathered over the years of activity, as well as the "battle conditions" of the last period would be helpful on a broader scale. Therefore, I decided to take the risk. It was a risk, of course, because it is a very difficult field and there is much to be done.

[Question] You talk about a new situation... This is an important statement. After the school strike, Lublin was considered a place where the situation among educators was bad. This does not mean that at that time there were

not many people on our side or who thought like citizens and were concerned about the Polish *raison d'etat*. But it is also true that the environment was affected by passions and aggressiveness, while some centers were apathetic and passive. Is this chapter closed now?

[Answer] I am in favor of closing that chapter in the areas of inter-personal relations and evaluations. But this is possible where the old conflicts have been successfully overcome and honest work begun. This has not yet occurred everywhere. The period of tensions and strikes has left deep scars in the consciences of teachers and students which will be difficult to heal. Pedagogical teams were torn by sharp divisions and conflicts; often, the youth was drawn to these intrigues. The youth as a rule did not understand the meaning of the dispute, but perceived the affair as a revolt against the authorities.

Today the situation is different. It's quieter now. However, the moral harm, inflicted by the past period, cannot be overcome fast and easy. Particularly that in some teams there are attempts to continue disputes despite the obvious defeat of the antisocialist forces. Rumors and calumnies are used for that purpose. Until recently illegal bulletins of the teachers' Solidarity have been circulated; they were more biting, aggressive, and vulgar than similar publications distributed by other groups. It is necessary to keep in mind these dangers despite growing stabilization and calm.

[Question] A few days ago I heard a statement that in West Germany, giving us lessons in democracy, the teachers are subjected to very harsh and brutal "Berufsferbot"* while we have offered the Teacher's Charter to all teachers, those who were with and against us!

[Answer] Yes, the Teachers Charter covers everybody. But it ought to be remembered that it spells out both the rights and the duties. I will not talk about the benefits, because these have been already widely publicized. One thing should be stressed, however, namely that due to the new remuneration system and many benefits the teaching profession has become more attractive than before. The conditions prepared by the charter correspond more to the high rank of a teacher and his tremendous role in society which until now has been mostly emphasized symbolically and verbally rather than through appropriate benefits. At present, the state offers teachers everything it can afford in these difficult times.

All this, however, is predicted in the charter on high responsibilities. Let us look, for example, at the following excerpt from the charter's chapter II: "The teacher is obligated to execute honestly the basic

*Berufsferbot - in German, denial of employment. This is the name of the West German decree which forbids employment in government service of people whose views or affiliations are dangerous to the state. This decree is used as the basis for dismissing many people holding leftist views, or peace movement activists, etc.

functions of the school: didactic, upbringing, and guardianship ones; to strive to achieve full development of students personality and to educate the youth in the love for the fatherland, respect for the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic as a socialist country in the spirit of humanism, tolerance, and freedom of conscience; in social justice and respect for work; and to make sure that the shaping of students' moral and civic attitudes conform to the ideas of democracy, peace, and friendship among nations.

I believe that the above is a clear exponent of what we should expect from a teacher and guardian. If we append it with another statement from the charter that "the work of a teacher is subject to evaluation" we can say that the charter constitutes an instrument, which when wisely and consistently applied, will allow us to shape the educational cadres on the right professional and ideological-social levels. Naturally, this instrument does not work automatically. We are faced with a tremendous task: to implement in every school everything that is spelled out in the Teacher's Charter.

[Question] But to release a teacher, who is unloyal to our authorities and sociopolitical system, is not easy at all. There are a number of limits and safeguards.

[Answer] Yes, it is not easy at all. But our purpose is not to release people but to convince them of the rightfulness and the meaningfulness of this kind of attitude and action. The "Berufsferbot" mentioned above and other similar regulations and laws are intended as repressive measures. We approach the problem from a different angle. We want to persuade and win people, not to get rid of them. Naturally, in extreme situations there may be a need to release an educator who has a harmful influence on the young. Such opportunities exist and the incorrigible and violent opponents cannot count on impunity. But I would like to repeat again: in general, we want to win the teachers' cadres to our ideals and aims.

[Question] I would like to ask you about several such problems. For example, employment... I understand that in Lublin many young graduates of the schools of higher learning look for teaching positions without result, and yet in small communities there is an acute need for properly trained people; the future looks even more bleak. How can we remedy the situation?

[Answer] This problem exists. In Lublin we have five or six applicants for every vacancy, while smaller communities can accept any number of applicants. There is one problem, however. Many young would have gone to smaller communities--particularly now in view of the improved remuneration system, which makes such moves quite attractive--but there are not enough apartments. Some time ago under the slogan of "1000 schools" impressive structures were built even in places where there are no young people today, but no thought was given to apartment complexes for the teachers in the "development" centers. Now we are paying for that. However, I would like to point out to certain awkwardness in these matters on the part of the local authorities and to the lack of understanding on the part of the society. Often in communities complaining about the lack of teachers there are many newly

constructed big and beautiful houses, where apartments for teachers can be rented. But the owners refuse to rent, and entire floors of these houses remain empty. Also, there is not enough interest in schools and their needs. All of this creates a crisis in the local school systems. And yet we must move forward on broad front in education. I can see the chance of the rural youth to enter colleges not in preferential points--these can be used as an immediate and temporary solution only--but in improving the educational level in small communities by means of good schools and good teachers.

[Question] Finally, would you please comment on the party work in schools....

[Answer] Party organizations in this environment vary a lot. They range from several-person groups to teams consisting of several dozen people. They differ in their activities as well. I have attended many meetings and I can say in general that they have passed the period of deadness and impotence for the most part. The work goes on and discussions and search of new ways continue.

What are the party organizations doing and what should they do? We have already talked about the integration of teams and involvement of teachers. This is a very important task of party organizations. Many of them have become involved in these matters already. It is necessary to pay more attention to the matter of upbringing through proper selection of forms and content. We have made many mistakes in our activities. For example, in the area of role models: we have brought up the young on role models based on the heroes of national uprisings, accompanied by insufficient or unconvincing presentation of those who created culture, national goods, and the bases of existence with their everyday work. Hence the cult of revolt and struggle and the underestimation of the value of organic work. I believe that problems of this kind ought to be an important element of discussion and activities of party organizations.

Another matter is the activization of all party members in the work outside of the classroom. It is necessary to help the young in the development of scouting and other organizations as well as the student government, science circles, and sports. These are all important and necessary activities.

The work with the management cadres is also important. Experience teaches us that where we have good principal offices the political and educational situation, order, work organization, discipline, and student test scores are good. Because everything is interrelated in school. Therefore, it is necessary to help the management by supporting their correct actions and criticizing their errors. In fact, there should be more criticism in all matters; friendly criticism--the one which will help to prevent serious errors. This cannot be regulated by a decree, however. It is a matter of a difficult process of developing political culture and consciousness. This process is indispensable if we want to overcome our hitherto weaknesses and to go forward. Personally I believe that we will succeed.

[Question] These are only some of the problems in the huge area of activity in the fields of education and science. There are many problems in the field

of science to discuss: schools of higher learning, research institutes. We will have to return to them in our next conversation. Thank you for today's comments.

Party Views on Necessity of Honesty

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (tb)]

[Text] Any abuse makes life difficult. This statement all of us repeat even though it sounds so trite. And we do it quite often, particularly when we encounter personally thievery, bribery, or favoritism. Mafias, gangs, bandits... One day a car on a parking lot or an apartment is endangered, another time - human dignity, a person's honor, or the property in the enterprise. Well, evil thrives, and, let us not be shy about it, at a staggering tempo. It is enough to glance at the crime statistics, listen to the radio, or read the press. Without looking too far, let us review the issues of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: how many times we have written about various phenomena of social pathology in our life. How many times we have "tracked" various abuses and signalled evil, which should have been dealt with.

We are not indifferent to information, pointing to violations of the law in our country. Therefore, we listened with great attention to the voices demanding a fight against evil at yesterday's meeting of the Krakow Party Committee. Particularly because the meeting was attended by the representatives of the workers' crews from Krakow enterprises. They had the opportunity to direct their conclusions, suggestions, and comments straight to the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, militia, the State Trade Inspection [PIH], the Supreme Control Chamber [NIK], and other units of state administration as well as the Krakow Party Control Commission. These organs were represented by their management. In fact, Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary, PZPR Krakow Committee [KK PZPR], addressed them at the beginning of the meeting with a request that they briefly present concrete programs, aiming at elimination of all abuses. After all, the battle against speculation had already begun. Now all of us should not only watch its results, but also unmask and combat evil.

The KK PZPR first secretary stated: "We are criticizing these abuses in public. We are criticizing them ruthlessly. It is up to us to prevent any deformations. It is the responsibility of every citizen to make it not just a one-time action but a normal, everyday activity, which will stop social evil. After all, the role of the party must be subordinated to the will of the people. And the people demand an explanation why, for example, someone has three villas. We must explain then. If we find out that the questioned individual is OKAY--good. If not... It is time to pull the covers even off the 'sacred cows.' Let us not be afraid to do that. But all of us must do that."

There are many areas of social life which must be examined with a magnifying glass. If we tried to compile a list of offices, institutions, enterprises,

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those meriting closer scrutiny would contain the names of some employees of the health service, some Polonia enterprises, gas stations, boutiques, Polmozbyt Foreign Trade Agency, and... All of the irregularities transmitted by ear: bribery, slyness, unreliability, or avoiding taxes, etc., are a public secret. The idea is, however--and we ought to emphasize that--not to malign all doctors, for example, vilifying the entire environment, but to unmask those people who dishonor the doctor's profession. In other words--to condemn publicly and by name those who are guilty of abuses.

"Social pathology is caused also by the overgrowth of nonproduction employees," stated Jan Krawacki, president of the NIK District Office. He noted in his presentation that among the main tasks of the NIK is the review of the saving program (its execution) and establishing whether there is any improvement in management effectiveness. That does not mean that the reviews of the health services, trade, and services will be abandoned. With regard to the latter, the workers addressed many criticisms to the trade sector. Mr. Zakowski, director of the Spolem Voivodship Foodstuff Cooperative [WSS], was asked why the goods are brought to the stores only before noon. The president of the Garden Cooperative was asked why there are no fresh vegetables and fruits in the stores when the private markets are flooded with those products.

The participants also paid much attention to the Polonia enterprises and boutiques. The former were criticized for taking advantage of the socialized enterprises and limiting their activities to financial operations and placing orders. If this is the case, there is no reason to support such enterprises or even justify their existence. After all, the materials were supposed to come from hard-currency countries, and production was to take place in these enterprises.

Stanislaw Talaga, deputy director of the Treasury Chamber, suggested to Tadeusz Salwa, mayor of Krakow, that his office ought to review the activities of the firms who had been given state operation permits.

The participants suggested that boutiques ought to be subjected to greater scrutiny as well. The prices of goods being sold there are obscenely high. And after all, much of their clothes is sown from fabrics, bought in state stores! It is also necessary to examine how many people these boutiques really employ, because the Treasury Office knows very well that the boutique owners avoid paying taxes.

Of serious concern are the activities of the Petroleum Industry Center [CPN] stations. Comrade Kurdziel stated: Why pay an agent for more gasoline line, when a client can be sold gas at commercial prices? Why enrich a CPN employee instead of the state? The Kleparski Market, used car markets, poor quality products--everybody is familiar with these names, and everybody knows what they are all about. Col Marian Furgala, deputy chief, Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs [WUSW], informed the participants that certain concepts to solve these problems have been worked out already, but... the authorities also count on assistance from the citizens. He also stated

that the "hard currency scalpers" will have a harder life. Since 1 August WUSW officers observe the Pewex and KKO hard currency stores; caught scalpers are subject to a 48-hour arrest, hearing before a judicial board, and confiscation of hard currency.

It is impossible to mention all of the problems discussed at the meeting. It is even impossible to signal them. Thus, I must follow those gathered at KK PZPR and issue an appeal: all of us must combat the evil! How? This question everybody can answer for himself.

Jozef Gajewicz stated the following: "Special tasks are entrusted to the media and to the Krakow press, radio, and television. We expect the reporters to be active participants of the party struggle with the social evil. Therefore, in the press, in articles, and in broadcasts we will not only point out all of these social dangers, but also name those persons who violate the law, or take advantage of opportunity to enrich themselves, or realize their private interests, regardless of these persons' positions, functions, and personal relationships. The party is not only deeply interested in combatting the phenomena of broadly understood social pathology, but the party will also create the conditions for effective eradication of these phenomena and for assistance and protection for those who will do it effectively. We count on and we are positive that in this activity we will be fully supported by the workers' crews, the citizens of Krakow, and by all those, who want to help us and who will actively engage in it."

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ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

Past, Future Activity

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Gen of Arms Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski: "Economic Activity of the Armed Forces During Martial Law"]

[Text] The suspension of martial law, as the end of a particular stage of modern history with its very dramatic moments, has stimulated reflection on its sense and meaning and its effect upon the present and future fate of the nation. These are matters deeply disturbing alike to all of society and every soldier, including those of the armed forces' economic apparatus. The present period compels us to try to balance our actions and accomplishments which will also enumerate for us the tasks we must fulfill in this difficult period.

The decision to introduce martial law created a situation in which the domestic responsibilities of the armed forces expanded to functions beyond its traditional realm of activity.

The armed forces became a force of law and order and saved our nation in the hour of its greatest trial.

A great contribution to this historic mission was made by soldiers and employees of the army economic apparatus. Their efforts and sacrificing work provided the material bases enabling the efficient realization by the armed forces of their multiplied tasks. They gave much support in their concern for the people, meeting their daily living and social needs and in their care taken for the operating condition of equipment and the universally-understood ideological, moral and health conditions of the troops.

In the order, high level of work organization and discipline shown by our armed forces during the martial law period, the army economic apparatus had its measurable and important share.

The tasks we had to perform at that time were not easy ones. After martial law was introduced, it was necessary in harsh winter conditions to provide everything necessary for sustenance and service to many formations and sub-units operating in new posts, often tens or hundreds of kilometers distant from the units' previous deployments. At the same time, it was necessary to guarantee the normal flow of supplies and work by garrison economic facilities, maintain the necessary level of production and service activity and efficiently protect army facilities and property.

The solving of such difficult and complicated problems was made possible thanks to ideological attitudes and high qualifications of people in the army economic front, and the army's lasting tradition of good work. Deeply-established cooperative ties with the commanders of the military districts, the armed forces' branch commanders and the party political apparatus turned out to be very helpful and altogether indispensable. Their object and goal was and still remains a common concern of man in terms of the unity of politics, economics and ideological, educational and economic activity.

This was not the only source of our positive achievements. In a fundamental sense, these achievements were guaranteed by the stability of rear-area services and the vitality of army management. We have done much in recent years to neutralize as much as possible the effects of the growing economic crisis which are felt in army supply and support, to limit its negative effects on the maintenance of fixed assets and operation management.

Thrifty management habits have become fixed everywhere. On a greater scale than before, internal possibilities are being used for the development of production and services that will partially relieve the national economy and market of changes connected with meeting needs of the armed forces. The logistical and technical services have both shown great activity and initiative in this regard.

We have also taken up efforts aimed at increasing our stationary structures' immunity to disruptions in obtaining supplies of electrical power, heating and water.

All of these forereaching activities of a counter-crisis and stabilizing nature have been tested from nearly every angle under the difficult conditions of martial law. Military economy logistics also passed a hard test and confirmed its vitality and technical and organizational efficiency. The need for realistic forecasting of future events and formulating practical conclusions about these events has been once again confirmed.

In discharging our duty to the armed forces under the conditions of martial law, we have by our economic efforts taken part as well in creating the framework for normalizing life in Poland and have contributed to strengthening bridgeheads in the economy for the gradual emergence of our country from its crisis.

Our participation in solving these problems of key importance to the life of the nation has not been just the result of indirect action. We have also

directly participated in their disposal. Hundreds of military economic activists, engineers from various fields, doctors and other specialists, fulfilling the responsible functions of commissar-plenipotentiaries of the Committee for National Defense within the territorial operational groups and also participating in the comprehensive inspections of provinces, cities, communities and plants, served with their rich experience, ingenuity and sensitivity to the peoples' problems the cause of repairing the nation's economy and restoring order and public peace.

In the first and hardest days following the introduction of martial law, we undertook many initiatives to support the new "start" for the economy and meet the most urgent needs of the public. We organized the Military Headquarters of the Transshipment Region in Malaszewice, thus speeding up the receiving and unloading of industrial materials, fuel, grain and other goods being supplied in their largest quantities by the Soviet Union. The collected efforts of railway workers and the troops made it possible to transport these goods effectively to factories and provinces most urgently needing them. We also directed an inter-agency team for the distribution of gifts received as help from our fraternal socialist countries.

We have provided indispensable protection and efficient operation of the main railway express lines and economic infrastructure units. To the degree that we could, we provided the necessary range of help to supply the mining and power industries, agriculture, the food industry, forestry, the wood and paper products industry and others by giving them batteries, tires, felt and rubber boots, work clothes, bedclothes, and liquid fuels. The army's participation in liquidating the effects of flooding in the Plock region was considerable and in many instances decisive.

In normalizing the situation, we again took up the realization of training and production tasks for the national economy, the Military District and the Armed Forces Branch [RSZ], obtaining in these activities incomparably better results than in 1981. Thus, for example, railway and road units met their tasks 107 percent quantitatively and 151 percent in terms of value. Construction engineering units accomplished 97.5 percent of their annual plan for finished construction but they fulfilled it financially by 102.3 percent. The Silesian Military District definitely took the lead in the entirety of its realization of construction and assembly output.

In the light of the data cited, it must be added that repeated assumption of training and production work by railway, road and construction engineering units, subunits of engineering troops and local departments possessing substantial personnel and technical resources was clearly felt in many plants and enterprises of transportation, industry, communications and agriculture.

The national economy during the martial law period had to implement its chief tasks under changing circumstances. Phenomena such as the crisis, the threat of counterrevolution and the economic war forced upon us by the United States and its NATO allies all contributed to this. The situation above brought about the necessity of making needed changes in the system of economic management and administration, especially in centralization of decisions on allocating funds and setting production priorities in the form of operational programs.

In working out those solutions adopted by the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Janusz Obodowski, representatives of the armed forces actively participated by taking part in the work of the CounterCrisis Operational Staff and later the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, which was the direct control organ for state economic affairs until September of last year. This participation also included the working out of many operative economic decisions.

Solutions developed for directing the national economy during martial law using the theoretical work on defense economics, for example, were found to be completely suitable, which is confirmed by the gradual improvement of the economic situation and progress made in introducing systematic solutions of economic reform. Temporary introduction of a system of economic control, characteristic of the martial law economy, has created the basis for a gradual return to the normal functioning of a peacetime socialist economy. Practice has proved that favorable trends are systematically increasing and this makes possible the limiting of many rigors and the broadening of the range in which economic mechanisms are employed.

In the entirety of economic military activity by the armed forces, a key role has been played by the "Program for the Development of Socialist Democracy, Strengthening the Leading Role of the PZPR in Socialist Development and Social and Economic Stabilization of the Nation," which was presented to the party and nation during the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. The resolution adopted by the congress has concretely directed our activity and determined its goals. The chief outlines of this activity are: food management, housing, health services, assuring the consistent supply of most-needed goods, and also fuel and power management and a widely-understood complex of social and living problems.

It can be truthfully said that the crisis has not in any way affected principal service troops since standards of uniforms, quartering, health protection and food have not been lowered. In spite of the fact that the consumption of meat and meat products was lowered in the period of January to May 1982 in accordance with orders of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission made due to the great tensions then prevailing on the meat market, the food value of troops' meals was not lowered because ways were found to compensate for the reduction of meat by increasing the consumption of milk, dairy products, eggs, fruit and vegetables and also by using the increase of our own agricultural production to make up for this.

In 1983 and the coming years, we will still continue to develop the military agricultural economy, placing our main emphasis on self-sufficiency in fodder for raising cattle, sheep, cows and poultry. It is our intention continually to enrich our troops' food and increase the profits generated by military agricultural enterprises. The appropriate authorization for increasing the independence of commanders in their disposal of agricultural products has already been conferred.

In not only army-managed farms but in all economic support activity by the army, we will consistently try to eliminate the work of principal service troops. We are hoping very much that our financial experts will help us solve this problem.

In meeting army uniform needs, there were difficulties in obtaining highly-deficit materials such as wool, cotton, leather and dyes. However, thanks to good cooperation with industry and with its research and development posts, substitute materials and chemical substances of domestic production were introduced to the manufacture of uniforms following necessary research. This did not lower the user value of the uniform items nor did it detract from the uniforms' appearance.

In realizing a program of cost-effective management, certain other additional obligations were limited, the rigors of using items of uniform were heightened and the work of uniform repair shops was broadened and streamlined.

The dynamic development of the military commerce network has not only assured permanent sales but has also sheltered army families from having to stand in cumbersome lines.

The hard market for industrial articles, especially light industry products, has made it necessary to intensify our own investment production. In 1983, the total rose by over 70 percent in relation to 1981 whereas the value of production for children and young people increased sixfold. We intend for the value of this production to reach 0.6 billion zlotys in a relatively short time. However, the main barrier to development is the difficulty of hiring workers (only 19 percent of total employment in investment production comes from members of army families).

The Annual Central Plan for 1983 shows that consumer supplies were increased by 8-9 percent. There has been an improvement in the supply of the food market (except meat) as well as better supplies of articles produced by light industry, wood and paper industries and the electrical machinery industry. This is a good prognosis and signals the scale and tempo of our recovery from the crisis. It also indicates the possibilities for increasing supplies to the military commerce network.

The most inflamed and sensitive problem facing the state and army is that of housing management. In this consideration, I am inclined to explain those problems in relation to their importance. Without going into the very complicated details of housing problems, I must say in realization of the minimum necessary program for 1983-85, there has come into being the necessity of finding ways over and beyond the investment plan to produce enough housing to alleviate this difficult problem. In successive studies made by the management of our agency, this problem has been solved as a result of actions intended to get around the impasse on additional construction of multifamily dwellings financed by the Ministry of National Defense's own funds. We can foresee that a considerable number of dwellings will be obtained after buildings ideally suited to this purpose have been repaired. Development of individual single-family construction will also make it possible to gain a considerable housing resource.

Activity to thus increase housing resources was sanctioned in respective orders and decrees put out by the minister of national defense. The Ministry of National Defense's plans are aimed at perceptible alleviation of the effects

of the economic crisis on housing construction. These effects create a problem in which, aside from the efforts of the housing and construction service, the participation of the military district and the RSZ, for whom this housing is designated, is indispensable. This should not be campaign-type action but permanent activity continued until the planned material effects are achieved.

It must be noted that while the outlined program is being implemented there may arise difficulties caused by a deficit of worker force and materials, especially finishing materials, as well as difficulties connected with arming the territory. The organs of the housing and construction service are, however, prepared to deal with the problems mentioned under the hard conditions of the nation's crisis.

Martial law has also been a strict criterion for judging the efficiency of the army health service's activity. In spite of many problems, medical benefits remained at an unchanged level and benefits to army employees were also continued. This was made possible due to the readiness to serve of the health service and their having a flexible supply system.

The necessary range of examination and inspection was maintained in prophylactic activity. Annual examinations have been consistently undertaken and they have included prophylactic examinations with respect to age, psychological and physical encumbrances, health threats arising from place and type of work and occurring systemic illnesses. Soldiers suffering from chronic diseases have received systematic medical treatment under active consultation and outpatient treatment. In cases in which there have been great outbreaks of so-called "social disease," regardless of general prophylaxis, individually-decided preventitive and therapeutic measures have been applied. With regard to persons employed in conditions harmful to health, periodic examinations have been intensified and particular emphasis has been placed on observing standards of work safety and hygiene.

In the wake of the improvement of basic therapeutics, there has also been developed a network of specialist clinics, especially open clinics, making medical care more accessible.

In closed therapeutics, efforts have been made to make maximum use of hospital beds by intensifying diagnostic processes. The average hospital stay has been shortened and rationally increasing the use of beds has in this way been managed. This has also made it possible to continue medical benefits for civilians during the martial law period.

Open therapeutic clinics and hospitals have tried to maintain their achieved standards of service and to improve them somewhat by raising the general service discipline and improving work organization and efficiency. Educational work has been expanded and service activity to maintain high ethical and moral standards among the personnel as a means of improving health services has been intensified.

In health resort therapeutical practice, renewing psychological and physical strength and assuring the full effects of therapy, we have tried to make rational use of our facilities for posthospital rehabilitation and rehabilitation in cases requiring long-term specialized therapy.

In our concern to maintain the good state of health of professional soldiers to guarantee performance of tasks psychologically and physically demanding and burdensome to the human physiology, we have maintained our standards and have not limited forms of recreation and relaxation. Those activities are being continued.

In the hard year that 1982 has been, recreation for our community's children and youth was provided at 55 recreation camps, 31 camps and 19 day camps. There were also five health camps organized for children and youth needing prophylactic therapy, mainly with posture, respiratory ailments, nervous problems and somatic underdevelopment.

There is a wide range of ideological, educational and cultural activity conducted at recreation camps and camps. All of these encourage the shaping of our youth's attitudes of social commitment and enrich their knowledge about our nation and its history.

In trying fully to meet the needs of preschool care for children of army families and army civilian employees, investment and modernization of existing equipment has been intensified. This has resulted in 16 new facilities with 85 different divisions. As a result of this activity, excessive crowding in existing preschools has been eliminated and there has been considerable improvement in preschool equipment. More new places for children have been obtained. Investment coupled with realization of modernization and adaptation has made possible a conspicuous improvement at the end of the 5-year period in meeting the needs of army personnel for preschool care.

The activity of the army food, uniform and other logistical services are being assessed every day. The accomplishments of these services are frequently presented in the army press but this does not cover all aspects of their activities. Their self-sacrificing work under difficult conditions has been fully recognized within the army community. The troops of railway and road units and of construction engineering units as well as troops of the MPS service [Petroleum, Oil, Lubricants] have carried out their work just as well.

All of the quartermaster services are the backbone of the armed forces' rear-area supply system. In improving their crafts, the supply troops have proved that they are to the same degree good managers and good soldiers with a high standard of social and political awareness. Their work has and will serve well the combat readiness of our armed forces and the preservation of a high moral and political state.

Let me also be free to express the conviction that this cadre, its families and employees have knowingly accepted the difficulties brought out by the crisis and those that still face us. Their good attitude will be another impulse for our work.

Economic Management Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article] by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "A Contribution to Overcoming the Crisis: The Army Is and Will Remain a Good Manager" []

[Text] (Own information) On the 16th of this month, the Twelfth Central Conference of Armed Forces Management was held. The cadre of the Ministry of National Defense, and the headquarters and staffs of districts and armed services as well as military units and institutions took part in the proceedings.

"In our military, periodic meetings dedicated to widely-understood problems of management have a rich tradition and visible achievements," said PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member, Vice-Minister of National Defense, and Chief of the Polish Army General Staff, Gen of Arms Florian Siwicki, in his opening remarks. The granting of a government program to the problems of thrift is of unambiguous meaning. The thrift program, as one of the basic conditions for our mastery of the crisis, along with the anti-inflation program, has been closely correlated with the National Social and Economic Plan for 1983-1985.

This will indeed have its effects upon realization of the armed forces' tasks, which, in comparison to preceeding years, will have to be carried out with more modest means. The policy of the Polish armed forces has always, after all, considered not only the level of foreign threat but also the present internal conditions and concrete possibilities of the nation. Among other things, the national character of our army, its feeling of responsibility for the fatherland and the quality of life of its citizens has had its place here. Today, this has indeed become a patriotic duty. The key to success can be found in the most rational and thrifty management of the means remaining under the military's control.

Four reports dealing with overall problems of army management affairs were read next.

Vice-Minister of National Defense and Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army, Gen of Arms Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, spoke about the efforts made by the army logistical services during the crisis. Thanks to their selfless work, the standard of food, uniforms and housing for principle service troops was maintained on its previous levels.

There has been a significant development of self-reliance on the army for food, construction materials, furniture and many other items necessary to the life and operation of units. There are still considerable reserves to be exploited. These reserves must be put to use for housing needs, above all. Those needs have been increased in the last three years. An intervention program on housing construction has been developed and executed.

The problem of appropriate utilization of facilities at hand and especially their careful operation is closely connected with these concerns. Proper educational work among the troops can also produce greater thrift in the use of uniforms, for example, and billet equipment.

Vice-Minister of National Defense and Chief Inspector of Equipment, Gen of Arms Zbigniew Nowak, informed conference participants that "in spite of objective hardships, our armed forces have maintained a proper level of readiness. This is the result of extra work by the cadre and principal service troops. For example, in the Warsaw Military District, there have been achieved especially good results in regenerative repair of combat equipment."

The tasks included in the government thrift program are considered the minimum program in the army. The most important tasks are considered to be the lowering of new equipment operating costs. Still more attention must be paid to strict observation of instructions and exact performance of service duties by all operating personnel. This also concerns the proper use of ammunition and replacement parts. It also seems to be advisable to modernize certain old types of equipment for training purposes. Greater care should also be taken with repair specialists since extending the operational resources in new types of weapons depends to a large extent upon their work and attitudes. Every soldier should understand that the struggle in the world is also an economic struggle.

The Chief of the Main Administration of Combat Training, Gen Div Wojciech Baranski, concentrated his speech on problems of economy in preparing soldiers for Poland's defense. At the GZSzb Main Administration of Combat Training, an analysis of training costs was made. It was stated that a ceiling had been reached in the use of so-called simple reserves. Large savings have been obtained thanks to developing a training base with the units' own forces. Now we must fall back upon so-called composite reserves in which an important role will be played by rational use of time.

There exists well-developed cooperation with fraternal socialist armies of the Warsaw Pact. This cooperation, through the exchange of practical experience, has made it possible to lower army training costs in many areas.

The First Deputy Chief of the Polish Army Staff, Div Gen Antoni Jasinski, pointed out the connection between army needs and those of the national economy. The Ministry of National Defense, for example, has established a training program so that soldiers being prepared to engage in national defense may participate, for example, in the building and upgrading of roads, bridges, railroad tracks, and other public utilities. In the recent period, in connection with difficulties experienced by the railway system, military rail transport has been considerably limited. The geodesic and cartographic services have also assisted in the national economy.

Continually facing the armed forces are new tasks resulting from the increasing tensions of the international situation. Since there hasn't been any increase in the number of troops, all of these needs are being compensated for by means of rationalization and cost-cutting activity, especially improvement

of organizational structures, upgrading the training of young specialists and NCO's and rationalizing employment within the staffs and central institutions.

During many hours of discussion, problems and difficulties arising from cooperation with industry and methods for overcoming them were pointed out. Examples were cited in which savings had been obtained in the use of liquid and solid fuel and electrical power, and extending the service life of combat equipment, automobile tires, tank treads and aircraft engines. The Silesian Military District, for example, can be proud of its good results in regenerating replacement parts. In the Pomeranian Military District, the collection of secondary raw materials is proceeding well. In the army as a whole last year, there was a conspicuous increase in food production in on-base farms: nearly all of the unused lands on the edges of practice fields were tilled and there has been expanded sowing of leafy vegetables and raising of sheep and cattle. These and other army activities are making a contribution toward easing the tensions of the nation's difficult situation.

Educational work being conducted among the troops is having its main effect in an enhancement of technical knowledge and care for army property.

Gen of Arms Florian Siwicki spoke at the conclusion of the sessions. He conveyed the greetings and recognition given for earnest work from First Secretary of the PZPR, Premier and Minister of National Defense, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Gen F. Siwicki stressed that the rational management system used in the armed forces since 1976 has proved itself in practice. The professional cadre giving tone to army life deserves much credit in this. At the present time, the principle concern is combat readiness. For that reason, all actions should concern the degree to which they serve higher purposes, that is, our army's readiness to defend the nation.

"The moral aspects of cost-reduction and rationalization activity," the general continued, "is no less important than its economic effects. Instilling a young person during his military service with habits of thrifty management, an earnest attitude towards responsibility and public property, disciplined action, conviction of the higher public interest over private interests, creating a feeling of responsibility for equipment entrusted him and for the work he does within his group is certainly not an easy task. It must, however, be done. Activities undertaken in this type of training will have enormous value since thousands of young people entering the reserves will take with them to the civilian community all of these positive traits and habits acquired in their military service and which are an important part of their civil and patriotic education.

Other participants in the conference were the vice-ministers of national defense, Gen of Arms and Chief Inspector of Territorial Defense, Tadeusz Tuczanski and Div Gen and Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Jozef Baryla.

Current Problems Analyzed

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Gen of Arms Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army: "Current Problems of Military Economy"]

[Text] We have behind us a hard time in which our possibilities of action and ability to solve complicated economic problems important to the efficient action of the armed forces and their ideological, moral, psychological and physical condition were put to a hard test. We met the demands and properly fulfilled the needs of the troops doing the important work of the martial law period.

At the same time, important affairs for the army community such as maintaining the normal flow of supplies and rear-area logistical work on the bases, providing the necessary degree of service and production activity and also implementing a wide range of enterprises to meet social and living needs and to alleviate the effects of the crisis by means of internal material and organizational resources of military economy, were constant objects of our repeated efforts (we have had the occasion to present these accomplishments in some detail to the readers of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI).*

Following the suspension of martial law, the military economy entered a new stage demanding the establishment of long-term planning until the end of the current five-year period, establishing a program of action to increase management efficiency, intensifying the discovery and setting into operation of inner resources and improving the efficiency of all economic cells, especially those directly involved with army supply and maintenance.

To an extent of general planning, these activities are directed by the plans contained in the 1983-85 National Socioeconomic Plan and its closely-associated government thrift and anti-inflation program. Slow but undisputed progress in solving social and economic problems, achievements in revitalizing the economy, the growth of production and implementation of economic reform have confirmed the reality of plans adopted to overcome the crisis and gradually stabilize the economy.

An event of special importance for establishing present and future work of the military economy was the Twelfth Central Conference On Rational Management of the Polish Peoples' Army. The conference summarized the previous achievements in this realm and their effect on improving management in other areas of the armed forces and a broad picture of further prospects for rationalizing the military economy was presented.

The formulations and recommendations from the conference have already been put into the concrete language of tasks by our services on the central level

* "Economic Activity of the Armed Forces During Martial Law," ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 19 January 1983.

and have been conveyed to the military districts and the various armed forces. The same initiatives are being realized by application to real conditions. Their purpose on these levels of organization is the development and enrichment of rational management problems such as making the fullest use of still-obvious resources, both material and human, and inspiring public community initiatives in these problems.

Within centralized rationalization plans, we have adopted a set of actions connected with tasks issuing from government programs for countering inflation and their plans for reducing costs. These involve principles such as disciplining current budget expenditures and import restrictions. We are trying to lower the use of power and electric power resources.

We will be continuing action to lower the material-intensiveness and power-intensiveness of processes for supplying and maintaining the troops as well as production and service activity. We are introducing more rigorous criteria for discarding items, especially items of uniform. We will be using a wide range of remainders for planned needs of the armed forces, managing secondary-value and replacement materials, and developing ways of reprocessing worn-out oils and coolants. We will be acting decisively against excessive hoarding of material resources. We are raising standards for analyzing the technical and economic use of fuels and materials. Guided by criteria of rationalization and thrift, we are also reviewing the normal service life of equipment, standards of principal and additional duties and also the standards between repairs of technical equipment.

In all bases and economic units, we will be improving the system of centralized transportation, making more effective use of rolling stock for operational and supply transport. The gathering and supply of secondary materials for use in the field and army sites, including military housing sites, will be intensified.

We are also acting to intensify utilization of our on-hand resources in production and service shops, individual unit logistics and the military agricultural economy. We will successively increase investments in the military trade centers with special regard for clothing for children and youth up to age 18.

In military commerce, we will be avoiding controlled sales, with the exception of rationed articles. The activity of all levels of the military trade centers will depend a great deal upon the principles of trade, but all forms of public control will of course be preserved.

We are also expanding the dimensions of agricultural and livestock production and providing an increase in the effectiveness of military farming by means of full development of cropland reserves, ponds and lakes on military lands. There will also be an improvement in individual production figures, and agricultural and zoological technical principles will be rigorously observed.

Investment activity is especially important for dealing with economic and daily existence problems of the armed forces. At the same time, investment

is a sphere of great possibilities for rationalization and economizing. The armed forces have very strong needs that are independent of investment limitations brought on by the crisis. These needs were determined by penetrating analysis and selective, often very difficult choosing between current investment plans. A fundamental problem here that is currently facing all military investors amounts to the most effective possible employment of investment limits carried both within the fiduciary system and also the units' own performance.

In social and daily existence matters, an especially important problem is that of cadre housing. We have also felt the effects of the crisis in this realm and it has expressed itself in a worsening of the housing situation in a series of bases. Due to decisions made by the military leadership, we are implementing, above and beyond the housing construction called for in the Central Economic Plan, additional construction of temporary housing using resources found within our organizations. If this program is fulfilled, it will mean a perceptible improvement in the cadre's 1984-85 housing needs.

Activization of the Lowest Levels of Health Care

The attitudes of the personnel and the quality of work requires systematic supervision, daily inspiration by health service commanders and settling problems indicated by assessment of preventive medicine and therapy. The role that must be played by the health service in its primary organizations in supervising sanitary and hygienic conditions and in health education must be remembered as well. The execution of work by unit doctors as temporary inspectors of the Army Sanitary Inspectorate and their support by command authority is indispensable. The sanitary and hygienic conditions are a sensitive gauge of army discipline and culture and also of environmental protection.

We will continue intensively to develop all further forms of preventive medicine. Improvement of medical services has become important due to the decreasing numbers of young people and the necessity of drafting personnel with health defects. The basic factor causing irreparable training and economic losses owing to excessive impairment is the proper selection of place of service and preventive medicine.

In caring for the health of the professional soldiers, the problem of health protection is being perceived perspectively and this has been expressed in appropriate normative documents. There have been undertaken a series of initiatives to discipline and rationalize military hospital activity, both in the realm of providing good results from specialist activity and in active prophylactic effects on our community in its therapeutic regions.

In the area of food, clothing and recreation, we have established the material conditions for maintaining our previous level of benefits and meeting the same range of needs. We intend to increase the dimensions and to improve the quality of food production in order fully to meet the military community's needs.

In our realization of economic tasks, we are placing special emphasis on effectiveness and rationalization. In all of the functioning levels of our service, we have taken up concrete actions to introduce the postulates of the Twelfth Central Conference on Rational Management of the Polish Armed Forces. We are putting great importance on economics education of the army supply cadres. We have brought the cadre into economic action by re-training them in economic reform and rationalized activity. To the necessary degree, we are also applying organizational and systemic solutions to the needs of the economic reform. We have an active influence on the pricing policy on military and consumer products.

An indispensable condition for the favorable disposal of the army's daily existence and economic needs by the quartermaster services is cooperation with the party political apparatus. This forms a part of the deeply-founded traditions of our armed forces and is imbued with a shared feeling of care for people. It is the expression of the unity between ideological and educational work and economic activity. We also place great importance on cooperation with agencies of social action, especially the social and living conditions commissions, the Organization of Military Families and social control groups. This makes possible a deeper knowledge of our community's living problems and is thus an important aid and support in dealing with these problems.

In the current social and political situation, economic problems will as always be fundamental so we must creatively and with full elan solve our economic problems according to our requirements for combat readiness and the moral and political condition of the armed forces.

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ACTIVITIES OF MECHANIZED DIVISIONS DISCUSSED

Twelfth Mechanized Division

Szczecin: KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 15 Mar 82 p 4

[Interview with Maj K. Malachowski, deputy commander, political section, 12th Mechanized Division, by Wlodzimierz Abkowicz: "Together with Society"]

[Text] The 12th Mechanized Division Has a Holiday

We are interviewing Major Kazimierz Malachowski, the deputy commander of the Political Section of the People's Army 12th Mechanized Division.

[Question] The soldiers and officers of your division are celebrating their anniversary at this time. May I take advantage of this opportunity and ask you, Major, to recall some of the highlights of this tactical unit during its 38-year history?

[Answer] The last days of World War II saw the organization of the 12th Mechanized Division. The unit was set up on 15 March 1945 by order of the Supreme Command of the Polish Army.

The division was originally established as an infantry division located in the Poznan and Gniezno area. In April 1945 it completed a forced march to the Szczecin area where intensive combat training was continued and further sub-units and detachments were formed. Some of the 12th Mechanized Division's units were combat units which had participated in battles by Lenino.

[Question] The following years were years in the service of peace. What did the division's future look like?

[Answer] The first years after the war were characterized by an intensive organizational and training effort. A 900-man group was separated from the division's organization. This group was to be the core of a Pomeranian Brigade of the Frontier Guards. From the very beginning this unit has been associated with the Szczecin area; its soldiers continue their traditions to this day while they perform service on our northern and western borders. Stanislaw Malachowski, my father, also served in this group. In April 1945

he became part of the 12th Infantry Division; later, he went over to the honorable service of defending our Polish borders.

Divisional units continued the struggle to consolidate order, security and law in our country after the end of combat operations. They actively participated in the battles against the armed underground during the first years after liberation.

Question How were the soldiers' activities characterized under conditions of peace?

Answer They participated actively in clearing away the rubble from and the reconstruction of our cities. They assisted in the complex management of our national property. They spent time working the fields of collectivized agriculture and also helped individual farmers on their private plots.

During this same time, a number of reorganizations took place in the division. Our tactical unit received new models of combat equipment. It was necessary to quickly master it and handle it in an expert manner.

In the 1960's the infantry division became a mechanized division and its combat capability was enhanced because of this. As a result, even more difficult missions could now be executed.

As more years pass, a further modernization of the technical and training base takes place. This guarantees modern training and instruction for a generation of soldiers who were mostly born in People's Poland.

Question And how does the division look today?

Answer Today we find a lot of effort in training and education. We began our 38th year with intensive training at the ranges. During all this, we have tested our abilities and know-how. We can affirm that we passed all of these tests favorably. This can be traced back to the fact that the division's professional cadre, soldiers of basic service and civilian employees, are people with high ideological and political values. They are experts of their own respective specialties. They will be able to effectively manage anything entrusted to them by the people, party or government of the Polish People's Republic.

Beyond our combat training, we participate in efforts for the benefit of society. On the eve of this holiday, divisional soldiers from our maintenance units visited selected localities of the province where they repaired agricultural equipment. In April we are planning a so-called "white Sunday" for those communities which have limited and insufficient daily medical assistance.

We also have to emphasize the form of the soldiers' good cooperation with their factory sponsors. These contacts have born fruit for both sides. They are an opportunity for us to become familiar with the accomplishments of our region's working class, a chance to become acquainted with their production problems and standard of living. For our part, we try to show the face

of today's Polish People's Army. We wish to shape the most proud traditions of the Polish soldier where the workers are. The workers need to know that the Polish soldier, when necessary, will defend the fatherland with his own hands and, when necessary, with his life; he serves to increase Poland's wealth with his know-how and strength. Today, he spares no time or skill to bring order to our common home so that we might more quickly solve our country's most pressing problems.

[Question] And how goes the political and educational effort among the soldiers?

[Answer] We devote a great deal of attention to recommending the best and foremost soldiers for party candidates. We have considerably raised the criteria for acceptance into the party in comparison to previous years. The party does not accept those who only wish to belong, but those who have authentically earned the right to belong. Party members in green uniforms belong to the most distinguished soldiers of the 12th Division. Experience has often confirmed that our best students become model workers in their original workplaces after they have left active service and gone into the reserves.

We are celebrating this year's holiday along with the proud anniversary of the Polish Army. The 38th anniversary of the 12th Mechanized Division which coincides with the 40th anniversary of the people's armed forces is an excellent opportunity to summarize the efforts and actions of the division in the development of the Polish People's Army.

Just as our armed forces, so too has our division stood and will always stand in the front line of our struggle for progress and social justice and in the struggle that our country and state should serve every Pole as his home and fatherland.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview; I wish to pass on to you on behalf of our editorial staff sincere wishes for further successes in the execution of the honorable service of defending peace. We also wish the same to you, Major, the soldiers and officers of the division.

First Warsaw Mechanized Division

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Captain Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "The Heirs of Front-Line Glory"]

[Text] In the Tadeusz Losciuszki Division

The staff duty officer of the Tadeusz Kosciuszki 1st Warsaw Mechanized Division informs us that the division commander, Brigadier Jerzy Jarosz, has left for one of the division's units.

The chief of staff will later say that the general often visits his soldiers in the field. This has always been necessitated by pressing requirements, both past and present. The Kosciuszki Division has always been and continues to be on the front line of those who are used to fulfilling the most urgent tasks on behalf of the army and nation. That is how it was during the war and during reconstruction; and so it is today. What is it like today for the heirs of front-line glory?

The 1st Assault Mechanized Regiment. Everything here is colorful in a light morning haze: the succulently green leaves and the first flowers changing colors in their beds. Without wanting to, one quietly wonders if in 1943 the leaves and flowers were also so fine.

There is an atmosphere of peace and quiet in the barracks. But this peace and quiet are deceptive. In a little while I will hear the rumble of warmed-up engines in armored personnel carriers and tanks.

Anti-aircraft crews are servicing their equipment in front of their garages, while short, broken signals are heard coming through the half-opened windows of the training complex: it is the communicators practicing the reception and transmission of radio messages. Training is now in progress.

Helmets are shining on the parade field and the thuds of boots against concrete are heard. This comes from the youngest members of the Kosciuszki unit, their uniforms still quite fresh as they learn to march as soldiers. But is it only to march? After all, military service is a great school for political thinking and development, and also for civilian activity. Here in the division, in the oldest tactical unit of the Polish People's Army, the history of whose battles and achievements in peace are shaping the patriotic attitudes: our young men are learning a special soldierly attachment to their fatherland.

The commander of the 1st "Assault" Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Iwanski, suggests that we take a look at the subunit of Second Lieutenant Bogdan Gozinski.

Young boys, barely 19 and 20, tell of their impressions of their first days of military service. They came with different ideas concerning this civilian responsibility. Now they know that they will enrich their personalities thanks to this military service. They are impressed by their platoon leaders--young 25-year-old second lieutenants; they are hardly older than their young subordinates. They are different, however, because of their education and level of their social and civilian maturity. There is no one in the regiment who doubts that these young commanders will be able to handle any test on their professional way up. They will certainly make good soldiers and even citizens of their young subordinates.

A soldier's training continues from reveille until retreat. This training began from the moment they first saw the inscription over the barracks' gate: "We welcome the young defenders of the fatherland." Later, the young military

candidates saw the pictures of those soldiers who had excelled on "Leadership Avenue." How many of these young soldiers decided there and then that they would be included among the best after a few months?

Major Andrzej Kubicki, the regiment's deputy commander for political affairs, states: "We believe that every young person has specific ambitions and aspirations. We only need to provide the chance for these to manifest themselves. Before we make demands, we demonstrate and then teach, up until the final positive result."

There is really no other way to becoming a good soldier except by going through the specific levels of military know-how. This soldier's road leads through the classroom, centers of general and specialized training and rifle ranges. This was the way that Second Lieutenant Gozliniski led his soldiers on the barrack's exercise field during one of their first days.

The commander of the first battalion, Lieutenant Robert Lesniak, told us: "We want for our young soldiers to see how their older colleagues exercise, how they are trained, what they look like physically and what it takes to run an obstacle course."

Their older, more experienced colleagues were already waiting for them. They were waiting in a trench for the order to attack. A green flare was fired. They moved forward. The first was Lieutenant Zygmunt Mochocki. Before them were terrain where the enemy had set up a strong defense. The distance was more than three kilometers.

Napalm explodes. Next to the shelter in which Lieutenant Mochocki's subordinates were waiting out the artillery barrage before their attack, are satchels of dynamite and containers of napalm. There was an explosion and loud crash. A wall of fire covers the ground. Under this fire were the lieutenant's subordinates.

One after another, they jump out of the fire. A gust of wind extinguishes the tongues of fire sticking to their uniforms. They reach the minefield; the explosions from their tossed grenades clear a path for them. The speed of the attack is great. They attack with much bravado. Second Lieutenant Gozliniski looks at the faces of his young subordinates. He tells them: "They look threatening, but even you will shortly be able to negotiate such obstacles. I will see to it that you also become such effective soldiers."

His soldiers' gazes still show uncertainty as they turn to look at the forest; therein vanishes Lieutenant Mochocki's unit. Wouldn't these young soldiers want to be the same as their older colleagues--strong, bold and well-trained? Of course they would, but they do know that they will have to work hard at soldiering for it. After all, they are marching on the exercise field.

They begin with learning how to march in ranks. Later, they will learn regulations and how to handle an automatic pistol. But how else can it be? The road to combat expertise requires time and is very laborious.

Captain Krzysztof Kubacki from the Second Berlin Mechanized Regiment puts it this way: "The most important thing is for the young troopers in our division and even in our regiment to have examples to model after."

They arrived recently. They also read the inscription over the gate. "We welcome you to the ranks of the Polish People's Army." Who do they meet in these ranks? Predominantly young people. The regimental commander, for example, was born in 1947, namely two years after the victory in Berlin. His deputies are even younger. They have been trained, however, in military academies and it can be said that they are prepared to carry out their obligations. They know their trade and they know history. Some of them have learned this history from relatives. Captain Andrzej Kondzielenski's father fought at Lenino.

How do they command and train?

The commander of the 1st Berlin Regiment puts it this way: "Command is the art of decision in specific and definite situations. To lead well today means to examine personal problems, to mitigate extraordinary problems associated with our social and economic crisis. One must also know how to increase morale, and evoke ambition so that the regiment's effort can satisfy every soldier in every position. The soldier needs to know that we are really creating our better tomorrow today..."

There were also solemn moments for the young soldiers in their initial phase of service. There was a ceremonial assembly of the unit. The invited combatants arrived. While patriotic songs were played, the commander presented the young soldiers a gold frame. They got the idea as they associated the frame with the gold sands of the River Vistula.

In the 3rd Berlin Mechanized Regiment, it is worth taking a look at the board with the names of the "soldiers of exemplary service." The picture of the best ones are also displayed: Second Lieutenant Kazimierz Mlotkowski and Lieutenant Waldemar Krupa. There are other "exemplary soldiers." There is still another illustration entitled "Expert marksmen." Here one sees the pictures of Senior Sergeant Henryk Byczak, Sergeant Piotr Krupinski and their leader, Corporal Wieslaw Adamczyk.

Dariusz Dylewski, a young soldier who recently arrived in the regiment, describes how they were familiarized in tradition hall with the most important historical events of the preceding generation and its World War II heroes. They learned to know these people and their exploits. Tradition goes on in a specifically soldierly manner.

Above all, the division thrives on training. It performs combat training, but it also functions for the benefit of society and the national economy. Recently, many subunits were at the range. Many second-year soldiers work outside their barracks at implementing various military activities for society. While the division trains, it keeps the past in mind. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army and the establishment of the Kosciuszki Division, it was the party youth aktiv of the 3rd Berlin Regiment

which addressed the soldiers and civilian workers of the Provincial Mechanized Division on how to best observe these anniversaries.

Many commitments were also made in the division.

Colonel Hieronim Ludwiczak, the division's deputy commander for political affairs, tells us at one point in the interview: "Our people love this division. This is perhaps why training and education come so easily for us. We are all very involved."

Colonel Ludwiczak recalls those who have left, and names names.

They have left the service honorably. There were parades, flags and an honor company. An orchestra played. An order of appointments, distinctions, and retirements was read. The commanders conferred the honorable certificates and awards. Warmly and sincerely they said: "We thank you for your honest service."

There was a joint meal after the ceremony. There were many tears. The military uniform had soaked up a lot of sweat during the training effort and in the execution of duties during the martial law period. But this effort was necessary for the good of the country and its security.

Afterwards, there were goodbyes to the subunits, the most sincere one can imagine. The reserve soldiers returned to their homes and families. They returned with the greatest skills; they had acquired knowledge and experience.

To be a soldier in the Kosciuszki manner means to be self-sacrificing, honest and steadfast. Commanders inculcate their subordinates with these principles. And they expect these principles in practice. As General Jarosz stated: "The division's personnel are striving for ever-better training results. In the service, in everyday training and in the soldier's actions we want to be an example to mobilize ourselves and others to greater efforts. We are aware that the effort of each and every one of us is in the service of the Polish People's Republic."

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CSO: 2600/1303

LAW ON COMMERCIAL USE OF TITO'S NAME TO BE INTRODUCED

ID061638 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1303 GMT 6 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 6 October (TANJUG)--A draft law on the use of Josip Broz Tito's name and image will soon be put forward for discussion by the Yugoslav government. The law is designed to ensure dignified fostering of the memory of the legendary Yugoslav leader and prevent its commercial exploitation.

The draft, which is to be submitted for public discussion and assembly debate, prescribes that Tito's name may be given in special cases to social institutions, enterprises and army units 'making exceptional contributions to the development of the country.'

If adopted, the law will put an end to the manufacture of clothing and ornaments displaying Tito's name and image for commercial gains and will permit their use only for general public manifestations.

Permissions to use Tito's name and image and to manufacture such articles will be issued by the federal government, i.e., a special government commission comprising scientists, experts, politicians and other public figures.

It has been explained that the 'short duration of the values of such articles' is one of the reasons for banning their manufacture. It is also insisted that the use of Tito's name or image as trade marks must be prevented.

Instances of commercial exploitation of the memory of Tito have been viewed by [as received] disapproval by the Yugoslav public. At the same time, T-shirts, necklaces and badges displaying his name or image have achieved popularity, especially among young people.

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SKOPJE SPEAKER ON BCP 'BETRAYAL' OF MACEDONIANS

[Editorial Report] AU091603 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 24 September on page five carries a 1,800-word excerpt from a report delivered by Dr Orde Ivanoski at a public discussion forum in the Skopje Institute for National History entitled "Macedonians and the 1923 September Uprising: Second Macedonian Ilinden Uprising." The date on which the report was delivered is not given. Ivanoski says that although the 23 September 1923 uprising in Bulgaria against the Tsankov profascist government "was limited through no fault of the Macedonians, it nevertheless flared up also in the then-enslaved Pirin Macedonia and represented a legitimate stage of the Macedonian national revolution." Reviewing the events preceding the uprising, Ivanoski points out that, following its "opportunist" and "narrow sectarian positions," the BCP "failed to help the Macedonian left and withdrew the Macedonian communists from the revolutionary movement" of the Macedonian people, thereby enabling the Bulgarian court and government to control the movement through the greater Bulgarian faction in the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and "exploit it for its aspirations of conquest toward Macedonia."

According to Ivanovski, it was only "after numerous criticism that finally, in August 1923, the BCP adopted a course of armed uprising" against the Tsankov government and "called for a united revolutionary front." The Macedonian revolutionary forces of that time were not a part of any rightist or leftist forces or of the BCP and strove to appear as an "independent Macedonian subjective factor. For that purpose they advocated the formation of a new Macedonian communist organization which would have a precisely defined Macedonian policy and would be a part of the Balkan communist federation."

Following the BCP's 20 September decision to start an armed uprising in 3 days, the Macedonian communists headed by Dime Hadzi Dimov were active in mobilizing the progressive Macedonian emigres in Bulgaria and the Macedonian people in Pirin Macedonia for the coming uprising. The Macedonians were promised that, under the new revolutionary authority, they would be able to achieve their "national liberation and state unification," Ivanoski says. However, he continues, "this time again fate played a game with the Macedonians. They were not included in the uprising as an equal subjective factor and ally but rather as a sacrificial object and as a bargaining chip for the neutrality of the greater Bulgarian members of the Internal Macedonian

Revolutionary Organization in the uprising. The fact is that the BCP concluded a compromise agreement with these members on their neutral stand in the uprising and, in exchange for that agreement, it pledged not to spread the uprising to Pirin Macedonia," Ivanoski reports. "This capitulating attitude was a betrayal of the Macedonian revolution," he says, "and was strongly resented by and caused great discontent among the masses of the people and the Macedonian communists mainly because the BCP had approved a limited scope of the uprising." Nevertheless, the uprising was carried out in Pirin Macedonia and achieved the greatest success in the Razlog area. However, it was quickly suppressed.

"Although the September 1923 [Uprising] was unsuccessful, it represented a great historical lesson for the Bulgarian and Macedonian revolutionary forces for their further revolutionary struggles. The Macedonian people remembered it as their second Ilinden uprising," the goals of which were triumphantly realized in the founding of the SR of Macedonia through the national liberation war and socialist revolution of the Macedonian people," Ivanoski concludes.

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